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THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

VOL. I.

THE

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OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK I.

BOOK I.

PHILIP II. King of Spain, ſon of the Emperor Charles V. and of Iſabella, daughter of Emanuel the Great, King of Portugal, was born at Valladolid on the twenty-firſt of May, one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven. He was educated in Spain under eccleſiaſtics, noted for their bigotry, who were appointed by his father to inſtruct him; and, by this circumſtance, ſeveral of thoſe features in his character were either formed, or greatly heightened, which were afterwards ſo conſpicuous in his conduct.

Birth and education of Philip.

CHARLES, who was born in the Netherlands, and paſſed his early youth there, had, through his

BOOK I.

his whole reign, entertained ſuch a manifeſt partiality for that country, as was the ſource of much diſſatisfaction to his Spaniſh ſubjects. But they were ſoothed by the preference which they received from the young Prince, and flattered themſelves with hopes, which were not fruſtrated, of obtaining, under his adminiſtration, that ſhare of the royal favour, which the Flemings had enjoyed under the Emperor[a].

His character.

PHILIP early diſplayed ſagacity, prudence, and application: and diſcovered likewiſe a diſpoſition wonderfully ſuited to the religious inſtructions which he received. His mind, being naturally ſerious and thoughtful, gave a ready admittance to all the ſentiments of that illiberal ſuperſtition, which formed, at that time, the diſtinguiſhing character of the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics.

His firſt marriage.

AT the age of ſixteen, he eſpouſed Mary, a princeſs of Portugal; who died in leſs than two years after her marriage in child-bed; when ſhe was delivered of Don Carlos whoſe unhappy fate will be related in the ſequel.

PHILIP continued to reſide in Spain, and was intruſted with the adminiſtration of the

[a] Haræus, Annales Belgii, &c. p. 570. Cabrera, Vida del Filippe II. lib. i. c. 1.

king-

kingdom, till the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-eight. At that time he was called by his father into the Low Countries; where he arrived, in the beginning of the following year, with a numerous retinue of Spaniſh nobles. Upon his entrance into Bruſſels, as he was ever deſirous to maintain the appearance of extraordinary piety, he went firſt to the cathedral church, to render thanks to the Almighty for his preſervation; and then proceeded to the palace. After paſſing ſome days there with the Emperor, who, in all his behaviour, diſcovered that fond affection, which is natural to a perſon in the decline of life towards an only ſon, he ſet out to viſit the principal cities in the Low Countries, accompanied by the Regent, his aunt, Queen Dowager of Hungary [b].

He is called by his father to the Netherlands.

NOTHING could exceed the pomp with which he was every where received. In preſents, entertainments, illuminations, and tournaments, immenſe ſums were expended. The cities vied with each other in diſplaying that magnificence which their induſtry had enabled them to attain; and the people gave every where the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of their attachment [c].

His reception there.

[b] Haræi Annales Ducum Brabantiæ, &c. tom. ii. p. 653. Antwerpiæ, 1623. Lud. Guicciardini, lib. ii. p. 127.

[c] Meteren, p. 9.

BOOK I.

His unpopular manners.

But Philip, in the midſt of thoſe ſcenes of feſtivity which were exhibited for his amuſement, and which were ſo well calculated to gratify a young ambitious mind, could not conceal the natural auſterity of his temper. The Flemings obſerved, with anxiety, that there was a ſtriking contraſt between the father and the ſon. Charles was courteous and affable; but Philip, they perceived, was diſtant, haughty, and ſevere. The former could ſpeak with facility the principal languages of Europe, and uſed to diſcourſe familiarly with all his ſubjects; the latter had declined learning to ſpeak any other but the Spaniſh tongue, converſed little with the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and was almoſt inacceſſible to all but the Spaniſh nobles. He lived in every reſpect as he had been wont to do in Spain, wore a Spaniſh dreſs, and refuſed to conform, in any thing, to the modes and cuſtoms of the Netherlands [d].

Their effect on the Flemings.

This behaviour, equally ungracious and impolitic, made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the Flemings, and created in them a jealouſy of the Spaniards, which they did not ſtudy to conceal. Charles having required the States to ſwear allegiance to Philip,

[d] Bentivoglio, Hiſtoria della Guerra de Fiandra, p. 5. In Parigi 1645.

as

as they had formerly done to himſelf, they rejected his requeſt; and refuſed to acknowledge Philip's right of ſucceſſion, till he engaged to exclude all foreigners from any ſhare in the government of the provinces. And even to this nothing would have made them agree, but their reſpect for the Emperor, and the awe in which they ſtood of his power; for, if the diſtemper, under which Charles laboured at this time, had proved mortal, it was believed, they would have excluded Philip from the ſovereignty, and conferred it on Maximilian his couſin, ſon of Ferdinand King of Hungary and Bohemia[c].

The Emperor's ſcheme for procuring him to be elected King of the Romans.

FROM the Low Countries the Emperor carried his ſon into Germany, in order to facilitate the execution of a ſcheme, which he had lately formed, of having him elected King of the Romans. In the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty, Charles had procured that dignity for his brother Ferdinand; but having now a ſon grown up to maturity, of whoſe talents for government he entertained the moſt favourable opinion, he repented of what he had done in behalf of his brother; and reſolved, in caſe he would not reſign, to endeavour to perſuade the Electors to annul his election.

[c] Memoires de Ribier, tom. ii. p. 219. à Paris, 1666.

BOOK I.

Averſion of the Germans to that ſcheme.

But Philip's manners were not leſs diſguſting in Germany, than they had been in the Netherlands; and ſerved rather to alienate the affections of the Germans, than to conciliate their favour. His demeanour there was equally diſtant, reſerved, and haughty. He ſuffered even princes of the higheſt rank to remain uncovered in his preſence; and in all his behaviour affected a degree of ſtate and dignity which the Emperors themſelves had never been accuſtomed to aſſume. The Germans dreaded the dominion of one whoſe behaviour, even when he was courting their favour, was ſo cold and diſtant. They refuſed to liſten to the Emperor's propoſal; and they were confirmed in their reſolution of rejecting it, partly by their remembrance of the calamities which they had ſuffered from conferring the Imperial crown on Charles, whoſe power had proved almoſt fatal to their liberty; and partly by their attachment to Ferdinand, joined with the affection which they bore to Maximilian, whoſe character and manners were entirely the reverſe of thoſe of Philip.

Charles was not of a temper to be eaſily diverted from his deſigns; and, being conſcious of the great ſuperiority which he had lately acquired, from his triumph over the con-

confederacy of Smalkalde, he doubted not of being able to compel the Electors to make choice of his ſon, provided he could prevail on Ferdinand to reſign. To effectuate this, he applied himſelf with all that earneſtneſs and ardour which he commonly diſcovered in the proſecution of his ſchemes. Nothing but the intoxication of proſperity could have inſpired a prince of ſo great ſagacity as Charles, with the hopes of ſucceeding in ſo chimerical an attempt. Ferdinand himſelf was in the full vigour of life; and, conſidering the declining ſtate of his brother's health, his proſpect of the Imperial dignity was not diſtant: his ſon had been educated with the view of attaining the ſame exalted ſtation after his father's death; and, from the great popularity of his character, he had juſt ground to entertain the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs. Charles might eaſily have perceived, that no arguments which he could employ, would perſuade either the father or the ſon to forego a proſpect ſo alluring. Accordingly, although he had, on all former occaſions, found his brother's behaviour towards him reſpectful and complying; and, to give greater weight to his preſent application, made uſe of the powerful interceſſion of his ſiſter the Queen Dowager of Hungary, to whom his brother was indebted for the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia; yet Ferdinand

BOOK I.

BOOK I. withſtood all his ſiſter's entreaties, and rejected all the offers of compenſation which were made to him. Charles had given his daughter in marriage to Maximilian, and entruſted him with the government of Spain, during Philip's abſence, in order to ſoothe him under the diſappointment which he was preparing for him, and to remove him to a diſtance from Germany, when his father's affection was about to be put to trial. This young prince was greatly alarmed when he heard of the deſign which was carrying on againſt him; and having left Spain, and returned to Germany, he omitted nothing in his power, to confirm his father's purpoſe, and to render it unalterable. Charles ſaw at laſt the neceſſity of dropping, for the preſent, the proſecution of his ſcheme: and Philip left Germany, much diſſatisfied with the Electors, and other German Princes, but with none more than with his kinſmen[f].

Philip returns to Spain.

FROM Germany he returned to Spain, where he held the regency of the kingdom, and acquitted himſelf of his charge, in ſuch a manner as led his ſubjects to form a favourable opinion of his prudence, his induſtry,

[f] Lud. Guicciardin. lib. ii. p. 128. Pallavicini Iſtoria di Concilio di Trento, lib. xi. c. 15. Thuanus, lib. vii. ab initio. Extrait des Lettres de Marillac au Roy de France en Ribier, July 22, 1550.

and his capacity for government. But the cotemporary hiſtorians have mentioned no particulars of his conduct during this period that deſerve to be recorded. He remained in Spain till his marriage with the Queen of England, in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-four.

His marriage with the Queen of England.

No ſooner was Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., ſeated on the throne, than Charles, whoſe ruling paſſion, towards the cloſe of his reign, was to aggrandiſe his ſon, conceived the deſign of uniting England to his other dominions, by the marriage of Philip with the Queen. Had Philip declined this match, it was believed, that Charles would have offered himſelf to Mary, rather than have loſt ſo inviting an opportunity of augmenting his power. But the ſon was not leſs governed by ambition than the father; and readily conſented, at the age of twenty-ſix, to marry a princeſs of thirty-ſeven, diſagreeable in her temper and manners, homely in her perſon, and entirely deſtitute of every female charm [g].

When Charles found that Philip was not averſe to the marriage, he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the court of London to propoſe it; and Mary heſitated not a

[g] Ribier, tom. ii. p. 457.

moment

BOOK I.

moment in declaring her conſent. Philip's bigotry, which rendered him unamiable in the eyes of others, recommended him to her. She was ever ſtrongly attached to her mother's family; and ſhe conſidered how much ſo powerful an alliance would enable her to execute her favourite ſcheme of extirpating hereſy from her dominions.

Objections of the Engliſh againſt it.

MARY's ſubjects had not the ſame reaſons with their ſovereign to make them fond of this alliance. They had beheld, for more than thirty years, that reſtleſs ambition with which the Emperor was actuated; and they now received a ſtriking proof of Philip's inordinate thirſt after power, by his agreeing ſo readily to the intended marriage, to which there was nothing but motives of ambition that could allure him. They were all well acquainted with his private character, and the prejudices which his haughty demeanour had, a few years before, created againſt him in Germany and the Netherlands. They dreaded the conſequences of having their Queen, whoſe temper was naturally rigid and ſevere, united to a prince of ſo imperious a character. They trembled at the thoughts of the danger to which their liberty and independence would be expoſed; and they were filled with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions of falling under

under the dominion of the Spaniards; a nation noted for their violent uſe of power in the Netherlands and Italy, infamous for the barbarities which they had exerciſed over the natives of America, and diſtinguiſhed, above all other nations, for their bigoted attachment to the church of Rome [h]. BOOK I.

To quiet theſe alarms, Charles had recourſe to different expedients. He prevailed on Mary to ſuſpend her perſecution of the Proteſtants; and to reſume the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which ſhe had laid aſide ſome months before. He ſent over immenſe ſums of money to be diſtributed among the members of parliament; and he ordered the marriage-articles to be drawn in terms the moſt honourable and advantageous to Mary and her ſubjects. Charles labours to remove them.

By theſe articles it was provided, that Philip ſhould have only the name of King, while the ſovereign power ſhould remain entire in the hands of Mary; that no foreigner ſhould be admitted into any public employment; no innovation made in the laws and cuſtoms, and no violation offered to the rights or privileges of the nation; that England ſhould not, in conſequence of the marriage, be involved in any war between France and Spain; that the

[h] Burnet's Ref. part ii. p. 428; and Carte, vol. ii. p. 297.

heirs

BOOK I.

heirs of the marriage ſhould not only inherit the Netherlands and England, but, in the event of Don Carlos's dying without iſſue, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain, and to the reſt of Philip's hereditary dominions; and that if the Queen ſhould die without iſſue, Philip ſhould have no claim to any ſhare in the government of England, but the crown of that kingdom ſhould devolve immediately to the lawful heir[i].

His ſucceſs.

THESE conceſſions were not altogether without effect. They did not indeed entirely diſpel the apprehenſions that were entertained; and many perſons thought that the more advantageous the conditions offered were, there was ſo much the greater reaſon for ſuſpecting that Charles and his ſon had no ſerious intention to fulfil them. But they furniſhed the courtiers, and other partizans of the Spaniſh match, with ſpecious arguments in its defence: and deprived thoſe who ſtill remained averſe to it, of any plauſible pretext under which they might have procured an aſſociation againſt it. This was attempted by Sir Thomas Wiat and others, who ſucceeded ſo far, as to perſuade ſeveral hundreds of the people to take up arms; but this inconſider-

i Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. p. ii. b. ii. p. 260. Carte, b. xvii.

able

able and ill-concerted inſurrection was quickly ſuppreſſed, and ſerved only to confirm that power of the Queen to diſpoſe of herſelf in marriage, which the malcontents intended to have controlled [k]. BOOK I.

EVERY obſtacle being removed, and the articles of marriage ratified by parliament, Mary now employed herſelf in preparing for the reception of her future huſband; for whom, although ſhe had never ſeen him, ſhe had conceived ſo violent a paſſion, as filled her mind with the moſt anxious impatience for his arrival. She was, at the ſame time, extremely mortified with his coldneſs towards her; and complained, that, although ſhe had ſo readily conſented to beſtow upon him both her kingdom and herſelf, he had never vouchſafed to write her a letter on the ſubject, or to ſatisfy her as to the cauſes of his delay in coming to England. At length he ſent the Marquis De las Navas to inform her, that every thing was in readineſs for his leaving Spain. But before his departure, the Spaniſh hiſtorians relate, that, having viſited the ſhrine of St. Jago in Galicia, he there heard maſs with much devotion; kneeling on the ground, without allowing the monks to furniſh him with a

[k] Burnet, p. 262. Carte.

cuſhion;

BOOK I. cuſhion; and recommending himſelf to the protection of the patron ſaint [l].

Philip's arrival in England.

HE ſet ſail from Corunna, in the beginning of July, one thouſand five hundred and fifty-four, and arrived at Southampton, after a proſperous voyage, on the 19th or 20th of the ſame month. In a few days after his arrival, the marriage ceremony was performed at Winchester; where Philip received, from the Emperor's ambaſſador, the inveſtiture of Naples, Sicily, and Milan, together with the titular kingdom of Jeruſalem; all which Charles reſigned to him on this occaſion, as a teſtimony of the joy and ſatisfaction which the marriage afforded him, and in order to render his ſon a huſband more worthy of his royal ſpouſe [m].

His behaviour and manners.

HAVING brought with him a numerous train of Spaniſh nobility, Philip ſtudied to dazzle the eyes of the Engliſh, by the pomp and ſplendour of his public appearances, and to gain their affections by his liberality. But he could not, with all his endeavours, hide the blemiſhes of his character. His natural reſerve and haughtineſs ſtill appeared in all his demeanour. He was too much a Spaniard

[l] Carte, b. xvii. p. 312. Cabrera, lib. i. c. 4.

[m] Burnet's Ref. p. ii. b. 2. Carte, b. xvii. p. 313. Summonte, Hiſt. di Napoli, libro ono, p. 263.

to reliſh any thing that was not Spaniſh. He could, on no occaſion, comply with the manners of the Engliſh. He ſuffered even the chief nobility to remain in his preſence without taking any notice of them; allowed no perſon to approach him without having previouſly obtained permiſſion; and thus made himſelf difficult of acceſs, even to thoſe whoſe favour he wiſhed to conciliate or ſecure [n].

He diſcovers his ambitious views.

It ſoon appeared, how little he was ſatisfied with that article of his marriage-treaty, by which he was excluded from the government. At his deſire, and in order to gain his affections, which Mary regarded more than either the intereſt of her people, or even her own importance in the kingdom, ſhe requeſted of the parliament to declare him the preſumptive heir of the crown, and to commit the adminiſtration of the ſtate into his hands.

Both houſes had hitherto ſhewn themſelves extremely obſequious to her will; but they ſaw now the neceſſity of putting an end to their compliances. They eaſily perceived the ſpirit and tendency of her demands, and conſidered them as an indubitable proof of her

[n] Burnet's Ref. v. ii. p. 288. Carte, b. xvii. p. 313. "His carriage," ſays Biſhop Burnet, "was ſuch, that "the acting him and his Spaniards was one of the great diver- "ſions of Queen Elizabeth's court."

deter-

BOOK I. determined purpoſe to gratify her huſband's ambition, without regard to the fatal conſequences that might follow. They rejected both her requeſts. Although they had conſented to Philip's bearing the title of King, they would not agree to the ceremony of his coronation; and they obſtinately refuſed to aſſiſt the Emperor in the war which he was carrying on againſt France[o].

His artifice. To overcome the prejudices, which, from this conduct of the parliament, Philip perceived were entertained againſt him, he reſolved to curb his natural diſpoſition, and to aſſume the appearance of moderation. With this deſign, he obtained from Mary the releaſe of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, whom ſhe had thrown into priſon, on ſuſpicion of their diſſatisfaction to her government. But there was no part of his conduct better calculated to conciliate the favour of the Engliſh, than his protection of the Lady Elizabeth; againſt whom Mary had given ſuch proofs of jealouſy and reſentment, as rendered the nation extremely anxious with regard to the life of that princeſs. It was unfortunate, however, for Philip, that the favour which he ſhowed towards Elizabeth admitted of an interpretation very different from what he expected would have been put upon it. Men

[o] Carte, p. 315.

were

were not inclined to aſcribe to generoſity, in a prince of his intereſted character, an action to which he muſt have been prompted by this political conſideration, that if Elizabeth were cut off, and Mary to die without iſſue, England would be inherited by the Queen of Scots; by whoſe marriage with the Dauphin, both the crowns of Scotland and of England would be united to that of France[p]. BOOK I.

Perſecution of the Proteſtants.

MARY had, in order to ingratiate herſelf with the people, and to advance the views of her huſband, ſuſpended her perſecution of the Reformers. But her zeal and bigotry were too violent to be long reſtrained; and Philip was not inclined, either from principle or temper, to oppoſe thoſe ſanguinary meaſures which ſhe was now determined to purſue. Courts no leſs arbitrary than the Spaniſh Inquiſition were inſtituted; and the ſame barbarous puniſhments, which that tribunal denounces, were inflicted on great numbers of perſons without diſtinction of either age or ſex. No perſon doubted that Mary was of herſelf ſufficiently prone to employ thoſe dreadful ſeverities which were exerciſed; but as all men knew how implicitly ſhe was devoted to her huſband's will, they could not

[p] Burnet, vol. ii. b. ii. p. 287. Carte, p. 3. 6. Camden's Apparatus.

BOOK I.

help conſidering them as the conſequence of either his advice or his approbation [q]. Philip was ſenſible of the odium to which he was expoſed; and, in order to remove or leſſen it, he had recourſe to the ridiculous expedient of making his confeſſor, a Franciſcan Friar, deliver before him a ſermon in favour of toleration [r]. But notwithſtanding this artifice, which was too groſs to impoſe upon any perſon, and though Philip ſeldom appeared openly to act a part in the adminiſtration, the prepoſſeſſions againſt him ſtill remained. All his conduct was beheld with an eye of watchful jealouſy and diſtruſt; nor was it poſſible for Mary to obtain any higher conceſſion from the parliament in his favour, than this, that if ſhe ſhould die, and leave iſſue behind her, Philip ſhould be protector during the minority.

Philip leaves England.

For ſeveral months, this conceſſion was not deemed ſo inſignificant as it afterwards proved.

[q] Philip's hiſtorian Cabrera aſcribes the perſecutions to Philip as matter of praiſe, p. 28. lib. i. c. 7.

[r] This ſermon was delivered on the 10th of February; yet on the 24th of May following, Philip joined with Mary, upon occaſion of Bonner's declining to take all the odium of the perſecution upon himſelf, in writing to that brutal prelate, requiring him to proceed in the execution of the laws againſt heretics; ſo as that, through his good furtherance, both God's glory may be the better advanced, and the commonwealth the more quietly governed. Burnet's Collection of Records, No. 20.

A be-

A belief prevailed throughout the kingdom, that Mary was with child, and Philip, and even Mary herſelf believed it[s]. Philip remained in England while there was any reaſon to entertain hopes of ſo deſirable an event; which might have realized that power at which he had aſpired ever ſince his arrival in that kingdom. But when thoſe appearances, which gave riſe to the belief of Mary's pregnancy, were found to be nothing but the approach of a dropſy; when all proſpect of her ever having children was annihilated, and her anxiety for offspring, joined with her natural fourneſs and jealouſy, had preyed upon her health, and rendered her perſon, as well as her converſation, diſagreeable; Philip left England, after having ſtaid in it fourteen months, and paſſed over to the Netherlands[t].

BOOK I.

[s] On the 30th of April, a report was ſpread that ſhe was actually delivered of a ſon. All the bells in London were ſet a-ringing. Bonfires were lighted up in every corner of the city. A Te Deum was ſung in the cathedral of St. Paul; and a prieſt indulged his credulity to ſuch a height as to deſcribe, with great particularity, the proportions and features of the young prince, whom he repreſented as the healthieſt and moſt beautiful that had been ever ſeen. Carte, p. 317.

[t] Haræus, Carte, page 317. Burnet, part II. b. ii. p. 312.

BOOK I.

The Emperor's resignation of his dominions.

THERE the Emperor was preparing to execute a resolution which he had formed of resigning his dominions, in order to pass the remainder of his life in retirement. At the time of Philip's marriage with the Queen of England, he had ceded to him the kingdom of Naples, and the Dutchy of Milan; and had little reason to be satisfied with his son's behaviour towards him, after giving so strong a proof of his paternal affection and munificence. Philip, besides refusing to come over to Flanders, where Charles was desirous of seeing him, unless he were invested with some authority in that country, during his abode in it, insisted, that the grant of the Italian States should be absolute and unconditional; and no sooner had he entered upon the possession of them, than he displaced his father's ministers, in order to make room for creatures of his own. This undutiful behaviour did not deter the Emperor from resolving to resign to his son all the rest of his dominions. On the contrary, it appears to have been his principal motive in forming this resolution; as it gave him a clear discovery of Philip's imperious temper, and shewed that he had now reduced himself to the disagreeable alternative, of either contending with him, or of yielding to him [u].

[u] L'Evesque, p. 24, 25. Summonte, lib. ix. p. 263.

HAD

HAD Charles enjoyed the ſame vigour, either of body or of mind, which he poſſeſſed ſome years before, it is probable that Philip's behaviour would have operated upon him very differently, and have determined him to abridge, rather than augment, his ſon's power. But finding himſelf worn out, partly by the excruciating pain which he had long ſuffered from frequent returns of the gout, and partly by his inceſſant activity, and continual application to buſineſs, he perceived that he muſt, for the future, either truſt to his miniſters, which he had hitherto avoided; or ſink ere long under the weight of the government of ſo many States as were ſubject to his dominions. It was therefore become neceſſary for him to diſengage himſelf from, at leaſt, a part of thoſe cares which oppreſſed him. If Philip's ambition had been more moderate, or his temper of mind more complying, Charles might have inveſted him with the chief branches of adminiſtration, and have ſtill retained the ſupreme authority; or, after reſigning to him the ſovereignty of a part of his dominions, he might have reſerved the remainder in his own hands; but he foreſaw that Philip's temper would, in either of theſe caſes, have proved the ſource of continual uneaſineſs to him; and this he could not, with dignity, avoid, by any other means, than by BOOK I.

BOOK I. retiring from the world, and making an abſolute ceſſion of his whole dominions[x].

DETERMINED by theſe motives, he reſigned the ſovereignty of the Low Countries in October 1555, and that of Spain in the month of January immediately following. But he retained poſſeſſion of his Imperial crown for ſeveral months longer, till he had made another fruitleſs attempt to perſuade his brother to relinquiſh his claim to the empire, in behalf of Philip. Charles was retiring from the world under a conviction of the vanity of human greatneſs, yet he was as ſolicitous to ſecure an acceſſion of that greatneſs to his ſon, as if he had believed that it conſtituted the ſupreme felicity of man. His own experience had furniſhed him with the ſtrongeſt proof, that dominions ſo widely extended conferred the appearance of power more than the ſubſtance or reality; that they are the ſource of continual and diſtracting anxiety; that they engage the poſſeſſor in enterpriſes beyond his ſtrength, and that the right government of them is a taſk above the capacity of any individual: yet he deſired nothing ſo much as to load his ſon with that burden, which he himſelf had found intolerable, and under which

[x] Ribier, p. 485.

he

he had ſunk long before the period when old age obliges men to quit the ſcenes of active life. Charles had long foſtered that prepoſterous ambition of princes, which prompts them to the purſuit of power, without regard to the great end for which alone it is deſirable, the happineſs of their ſubjects: and it was become impoſſible for him entirely to diveſt himſelf of this paſſion, although he was determined never more to indulge it.

The truce of Vaucelles.

It is much eaſier to enter into the motives from which he acted, with reſpect to another part of his conduct at this time. Previouſly to his abdication, he had been exceedingly deſirous to have peace eſtabliſhed with France, in order to give his ſon leiſure to recover his dominions from that exhauſted ſtate to which his own continual wars, together with the ſums tranſmitted to England, had reduced them. In this, however, all his attempts had hitherto failed. But, having been detained in the Low Countries by ſickneſs and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, much longer than he intended, he had the ſatisfaction, before his departure, to employ his endeavours ſucceſsfully in effectuating the truce of Vaucelles: and, before the expiration of that truce, there was ground to hope that the ſeveral points of difference between his ſon and the French

BOOK I. monarch would be amicably adjuſted. [r] Soon after this, he ſet out for his retreat in Spain: where, having buried, in the ſolitude of a convent, all his ſchemes of glory and ambition, he ſeldom inquired, or even ſuffered his domeſtics to inform him, concerning what was paſſing in the world [y].

[y] Gianone, tom. iv. p. 198.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK II.

NOTWITHSTANDING Charles was diſappointed in his ſcheme of tranſmitting the empire to his ſon, Philip was ſtill the moſt powerful monarch of the age. In Europe, beſides the united kingdoms of Caſtile, Arragon, and Navarre, he poſſeſſed the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Dutchy of Milan, Franche-Compté, and the Netherlands; in Africa, Tunis, Oran, the Cape-Verd, and the Canary Iſlands; in Aſia, the Philippine and Sunda Iſlands, and a part of the Moluccas; and in America, the empires of Peru and Mexico, New Spain and Chili, beſides Hiſpaniola, Cuba, and many other of the American iſlands. The mines of Mexico, Chili, and Potoſi,

Philip's power and dominions.

BOOK II. Potoſi, were, at the time of Philip's acceſſion, a ſource of greater wealth than almoſt all the other princes in Europe were poſſeſſed of [a]. His fleet was much more numerous than that of any other European power. His troops were better diſciplined, and more accuſtomed to war and victory: and they were commanded by the ableſt and moſt experienced generals of the age.

SUCH extenſive power, and ſuch copious reſources, could not but appear extremely formidable to the other European States; eſpecially when they reflected upon the dark, imperious character of the Prince to whom they belonged. For although Philip had neither his father's valour, nor his enterpriſing activity, yet he was plodding, induſtrious, and penetrating. He had already ſhewn that his ambition was not leſs ardent than that of the Emperor; and it was the more to be dreaded, as it was concealed under the cloak of fervent zeal for the intereſt of religion.

State of Europe.

BUT how much ſoever Philip's power and character were fitted to excite jealouſy in the neighbouring ſtates, there were few of them, at that period, in a condition to counteract his

Of England.

deſigns. The Engliſh had, ſince Mary's ac-

[a] They brought him 25,000,000 of guilders yearly. Meteren.

ceſſion,

ceſſion, loſt much of that importance in Europe, which they had enjoyed for half a century before. Commerce was either neglected, or oppreſſed; their troops were undiſciplined, and diſuſed to war; and their navy was in the moſt languiſhing condition. During Philip's reſidence among them, they had given proof of their native ſpirit of independence, by refuſing to admit him to any ſhare of the adminiſtration; but they had, in every thing elſe, ſhewn themſelves tamely ſubmiſſive to the will of their weak bigoted Queen; and there was ground to apprehend, that, inſtead of oppoſing, they would be compelled by her to aſſiſt him, in the execution of any violent or hoſtile plan, which his ambition or bigotry might prompt him to purſue. BOOK II.

Of Germany.

He had no greater reaſon to expect oppoſition from Germany than from England. For whatever diſguſt his competition with Ferdinand for the Imperial crown might have created, there was no probability that it would ever occaſion any violent diſſenſion, or open rupture between them. Ferdinand was not yet fully ſettled in the poſſeſſion of Hungary. He was diſquieted with apprehenſions that the Sultan would ere long renew hoſtilities againſt him in that kingdom; and, in order to provide againſt this event, and ſecure to himſelf that ſupport,

BOOK II.

ſupport, of which, in caſe it ſhould happen, he would ſtand in need, he laboured aſſiduouſly to eſtabliſh concord among the ſeveral princes of the Germanic body, and to compoſe the animoſities which the differences in religion had produced.

Of Portugal.

PORTUGAL had, at this time, reached the ſummit of its proſperity and glory. Thoſe diſcoveries and conqueſts in the moſt diſtant regions of the globe, which had advanced that kingdom to a rank ſo much ſuperior to what it held before, were almoſt compleated. But John the Third, under whoſe government and auſpices ſo great a number of diſcoveries and conqueſts had been made, was now in the decline of life; beloved by his people; reſpected by his neighbours; and only ſolicitous to maintain peace, and to render his ſubjects happy.

Denmark and Sweden.

THE thrones of Denmark and Sweden were filled by Chriſtiern the Third and Guſtavus Vaſa. Under the juſt and mild adminiſtration of the former monarch, Denmark was beginning to recover from that exhauſted ſtate to which civil diſſenſions, the calamities of foreign war, and the oppreſſion of an odious tyrant lately dethroned, had reduced it: while the Swedes, who, under Guſtavus, had thrown off the yoke of the neighbouring kingdom, and

and beſtowed their crown upon their brave deliverer, were enjoying under him the ſweets of liberty, and laying the foundation of that greatneſs to which they afterwards attained. Neither of theſe nations, however, were yet in a condition to take a part in the affairs of the other European powers; and the patriotic princes who ruled over them, found ſufficient employment in eſtabliſhing tranquillity within their kingdoms. BOOK II.

Of the Pope's dominions.

In Italy, the dominion of the church, lately much diminiſhed by the grant which Paul the Third had made of the Dutchies of Parma and Placentia to Octavio Farneſe his grandſon, were ſhut up between the Dutchy of Milan on the one hand, and the kingdom of Naples on the other. The ſovereign Pontiff, therefore, was more dependent on Philip, than upon any other prince, and was much more likely to find his intereſt in courting that monarch's favour, than in promoting any ſcheme of oppoſition to his deſigns.

Tuſcany.

Cosmo de Medici, Duke of Tuſcany, had been greatly indebted to the late Emperor for the ſovereignty which he enjoyed; and his dominions were, by the Emperor's favour and his own wiſe policy, become ſo conſiderable, that only the Viceroy of Naples, or the Governor of Milan,

BOOK II. Milan, could give him any juſt ground of uneaſineſs. Both gratitude and intereſt ſeemed to call on that political prince to attach himſelf to the King of Spain, and to cultivate his friendſhip.

Savoy, Parma, and Placentia. OCTAVIO de Farneſe, Duke of Parma, had been deprived of the dutchy of Placentia by the Emperor; and Philibert Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, had been ſtript, in his father's lifetime, both of Savoy and Piedmont, by the French. Without the favour of Philip, neither of theſe two princes had any proſpect of recovering his dominions.

Venice. THE republic of Venice, formerly ſo powerful and ambitious, had, after the league of Cambray, diſcovered the folly of their ambition; and they now adhered ſtedfaſtly to the cautious maxim of maintaining a ſtrict neutrality in all the quarrels of the European powers; whoſe friendſhip, and eſpecially that of Philip, they were ſolicitous to ſecure, as the only means by which the invaſions of their formidable enemy, the Turkiſh Sultan, could be repelled.

Of France. FROM this view of the European States at the time of Philip's acceſſion, it is evident there was no other counterpoiſe in Chriſtendom to his power, but France: which was not indeed of

of ſo great extent as Philip's dominions, but poſſeſſed ſuch advantages in its ſituation, in its people, and in its government, as made it at leaſt the ſecond kingdom in Europe, and qualified it to ſerve as a bulwark of the general liberty againſt the power of Spain. Although the frontier of this mighty monarchy did not reach ſo far as it does at preſent, yet it extended from the Britiſh Channel to the Mediterranean and Italy, and from the Pyrenees to Germany and the Netherlands; and, through all that ſpace, was unmixt with the territories of any other ſtate; lying between Philip's dominions in Spain or Italy, and the Netherlands; and in the time of war, rendering it difficult for his troops in one of theſe countries, to co-operate with thoſe in the other.

Character of the French.

DURING the reigns of ſeveral princes, the French nation had been accuſtomed almoſt perpetually to the uſe of arms, and had never become ſufficiently acquainted either with the arts, or with the ſweets of peace, to be averſe to war. The ſpirit of chivalry, the heroic valour, romantic love of military fame, which, whilſt the feudal government ſubſiſted, proved the ſource of ſo many calamities to the kingdom, ſtill animated in a high degree the French nobility; but having taken a different direction, inſtead of engaging them in hoſtilities

BOOK II. againſt one another, it inflamed them with the laudable ambition of courting toil and danger in ſupport of the glory of the nation and the crown.

Henry II. HENRY the Second, who governed this warlike people, had already ſhewn himſelf poſſeſſed of no inconſiderable ſhare of that ardent and ambitious ſpirit by which his father was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. He had not indeed the bold military genius of Francis; but this defect in his character was abundantly ſupplied by his generals: among whom were the Mareſchal de Briſac, the conqueror of Piedmont; the Conſtable Montmorency, ſo much celebrated for his heroic valour; and Francis of Lorrain, Duke of Guiſe, who had lately acquired immortal honour by his defence of Metz againſt the Emperor.

His allies. HENRY was formidable, from his connexions with foreign powers, as well as on account of his internal reſources. The Queen of Scots having been educated at his court, and betrothed to his eldeſt ſon, her kingdom was likely to become a province of France. And, in imitation of his father, he had courted aſſiduouſly the friendſhip of the Swiſs, and entered into a ſtrict alliance with the Sultan; as from the former he might, in caſe of a rupture with

with Spain, receive assistance by land, and from the latter by sea, on the coasts of Spain and Italy.

It appeared, almost from the beginning of Henry's reign, that he had thoroughly imbibed his father's passions, his ambition to recover possession of those Italian dominions which had occasioned so many bloody wars, and his jealousy of the Spanish or Austrian power and greatness.

Prompted by these passions, he had, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-one, taken Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, under his protection, in opposition both to the Pope and to the Emperor. And he had entered into a league against Charles, with the Protestant Princes in Germany, than which, he could not have given a stronger demonstration of his jealousy of the Emperor; since the principal end of this alliance was, to save from ruin, in Germany, that religion, the professors of which he had persecuted in France with unrelenting rigour. The war, which was the consequence of this alliance, continued with various success, till a stop was put to it for a few months by the truce of Vaucelles above mentioned. By this truce the contending parties were to retain possession of their conquests for five years, unless their

BOOK II. respective claims were adjusted before the expiration of that term. This was the principal article; and, in virtue of it, not only Metz and Toul and Verdun, which rendered France secure on the German frontier, but almost the whole of Savoy and Piedmont (the restoration of which the Emperor was in honour bound to procure to the Duke of Savoy), were to remain in the hands of the French. Charles would never have consented to this condition, which he had rejected when it was proposed in the preceding year, had he not thought it necessary that his son should enjoy some years of peace. Henry, on the other hand, had the highest reason to be satisfied; yet it was by him the truce was violated. Into this measure, of which he had much reason afterwards to repent, he was drawn, partly by that hereditary ambition, which had impelled so many of his predecessors to attempt to gain a footing in Italy, and partly by the interested counsels of the family of Guise; but chiefly by the solicitations and importunity of the sovereign pontiff.

Paul the Fourth, one of the most singular characters of the age, and whose conduct furnished, at this time, a striking contrast to that of the Emperor, had been lately advanced to the papacy; after having passed

the greateſt part of his life either in the ſtudy of the learned languages and ſcholaſtic theology, or in the auſterities of a cloiſter. Born of the family of Caraffa in the kingdom of Naples, he had in his youth enjoyed ſeveral rich preferments, and been employed as a nuncio in Naples, in Spain, and in England. But having grown tired of this public life, he had relinquiſhed the paths of ambition; reſigned his benefices; inſtituted an order of monks, and lived, for ſeveral years, in ſtrict conformity to the rigid rules which he preſcribed them. Paul the Third with difficulty perſuaded him to quit his retirement, and accept the dignity of Cardinal: nor would he have been induced to comply with the Pope's requeſt, by any other motive, but the hope of contributing towards the extirpation of the Lutheran hereſy; againſt which he had ever ſhewn the moſt furious and bigoted zeal. He was the oldeſt cardinal when Marcellus died; and this circumſtance had ſerved not a little to promote his election; as it flattered the other competitors with the proſpect of ſeeing, ere long, another vacancy in the papal chair.

But his advanced age had given him neither moderation nor prudence, nor any uſeful acquaintance with the world. He talked perpetually of the power belonging to the

BOOK II.

the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and of his ſuperiority to princes, in terms that might have been ſuffered in the dark ages of the church, but which, from the revolution men's ſentiments had lately undergone, appeared, even to his courtiers, ridiculous and extravagant. In all his demeanour he diſcovered a degree of haughtineſs, that aſtoniſhed thoſe who obſerved it; and he began his pontificate at the age of ſeventy-nine, with an impetuoſity and violence ſeldom to be met with in the ardour of youth[b].

His nephews.

He had long held a diſtinguiſhed character for ſanctity of manners, and diſintereſted zeal for the honour of the Holy See; but having now attained the higheſt dignity to which he could aſpire, and having no longer any reaſon to diſguiſe his ſentiments, he devoted himſelf, with a blind attachment, to his nephews, and ſeemed to have no other aim, in the exerciſe of his pontifical power, than to advance their intereſts, and aſſiſt them in the execution of ambitious deſigns. Unfortunately for the peace of Europe, their ambition could not be ſatisfied with the dignities, which, as ſupreme pontiff, he had the power of conferring; although he beſtowed on Count

[b] F. Paul, lib. v. Onuphrii Panvinni vita Pauli IV. Thuani, lib. xv. c. 12. Burnet's Hiſt. of the Ref. part ii. b. ii.

Montorio,

Montorio, his eldeſt nephew, the dukedom of Palliano, of which he had violently diſpoſſeſſed Mark Antony Colonna; on the ſecond the government of Rome, with the county of Bagno, and the title of Marquis of Montebello; and had made the youngeſt a cardinal, and legate of Bologna. But theſe men aſpired at ſome ſovereign or independent eſtabliſhment, ſuch as had been procured by Leo and Clement, for the Medici; and by Paul the Third, for the family of Farneſe. They ſaw no other means of accompliſhing their deſign, but by diſpoſſeſſing the Emperor and his ſon of their Italian dominions: and to attempt this, both Paul and his nephews were incited by motives of reſentment as well as intereſt. The younger Caraffa, formerly a ſoldier, and one of the knights of Malta, though now a cardinal, having, when he ſerved in the Emperor's army in Germany, challenged a Spaniſh officer to ſingle combat, Charles had put him under arreſt; and afterwards, when the Pope had conferred on him the priory of St. Jerom in Naples, the Emperor's viceroy had prevented him from entering on the poſſeſſion of it[c].

PAUL himſelf, during his reſidence as nuncio in Spain, having acquired the eſteem

[c] Pallavicini, p. 60. Father Paul, lib. v.

BOOK II.

of Ferdinand the Catholic, had been admitted by him into the council of ſtate, and had retained his place there after the acceſſion of Charles. But having on ſome occaſion ſpoken with too much freedom againſt the Emperor in the conſiſtory at Rome, Charles had teſtified his diſpleaſure with him, by ordering his name to be ſtruck out of the liſt of counſellors. Not ſatisfied with this, he had firſt oppoſed his being admitted to the archbiſhopric of Naples, to which Paul the Third had preſented him; and afterwards, though Charles was perſuaded by Julius the Third to conſent to his inveſtiture, yet he had moleſted him in the exerciſe of his juriſdiction; and had exerted all his influence in the conclave to prevent his advancement to the papal throne [d].

These injuries made a deep impreſſion on the proud and fiery temper of the pontiff; nor was he ſolicitous to conceal his indignation. Even in the preſence of the Cardinals of the Imperial party, he uſed to inveigh bitterly againſt the Emperor, and to join menaces to his invectives; and would ſometimes add, that they might inform their maſter, if they pleaſed, of what he ſaid.

[d] Summonte, lib. x. p. 269. Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xiv. F. Paul, lib. v.

IT is probable, however, that he would not have formed the reſolution of having recourſe to arms, had not his nephews, and particularly the Cardinal, the moſt ambitious and intriguing, employed various artifices to deceive him. They gave him information of nocturnal aſſemblies held in Rome, by the partizans of the Emperor, at which, meaſures were concerted prejudicial to his authority; they informed him of a detection which they had made, of perſons hired by the Emperor, to poiſon, or aſſaſſinate both him and them; and they carried him intercepted letters writ in cypher, from which, according to the Cardinal's interpretation, it appeared that ſome ſecret machinations were in agitation againſt him among the Imperial miniſters.

Their artifices.

BY theſe and other means of the ſame nature, they at once rouſed his fears, and inflamed his reſentment; and he at length reſolved, in conformity with their advice, to endeavour to engage the French King, whoſe war with the Emperor ſtill ſubſiſted, to enter into a treaty of alliance with him againſt the common enemy.

HAVING, with this view, called ſuch of his courtiers as he confided in, to a ſecret conference, at which he deſired the French ambaſſador,

Paul forms an alliance with Henry II.

BOOK II.

baſſador, Avanſon, to be preſent; he informed them of the ſeveral plots againſt him and his nephews, which had fortunately been detected, and lamented that, notwithſtanding it had pleaſed God to appoint him to be the common father of Chriſtians, yet his children, by conſpiring to accompliſh his deſtruction, had reduced him to the painful neceſſity of taking arms againſt them, in order to maintain that ſacred dignity with which he was inveſted. And he concluded with ſaying, that his hopes of deliverance from the dangers which threatened him and the church, were founded principally on the power and zeal of His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

AVANSON replied to this diſcourſe, by aſſuring him that the King and kingdom of France would be ready to devote themſelves to the defence of his ſacred perſon, and the Apoſtolic See; and Paul diſmiſſed the aſſembly, after obſerving that he hoped ere long to ſee *one* of the King's ſons in poſſeſſion of Naples, and another, of the Dutchy of Milan.

CARAFFA the cardinal, impatient of delay, immediately ſet on foot a treaty between his uncle and Avanſon; and having, without much

much difficulty, brought it to a concluſion, he tranſmitted it to the court of France[e]. BOOK II.

THE moſt important articles were theſe; That the King of France ſhould take upon himſelf the protection of the Pope, and all the family of Caraffa: That the Pope ſhould furniſh an army of ten thouſand men; and the King the ſame, or a greater number, if neceſſary, to co-operate with the eccleſiaſtical forces, in reſtoring liberty to Tuſcany, and in expelling the Imperialiſts and Spaniards from the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily: And that, in caſe their arms ſhould be attended with ſucceſs, the Pope ſhould immediately grant the inveſtiture of theſe kingdoms to a younger ſon of the French monarch; reſerving for the Eccleſiaſtical State, the city of Benevento, with its territory, and an annual tribute of twenty thouſand crowns; beſides an independent eſtabliſhment, in the kingdom of Naples, of twenty-five thouſand crowns, for the Count Montorio; and another of fifteen thouſand for Antonio de Caraffa[f].

[e] From this treaty it is evident, that however ſolicitous Paul was to advance the ambitious and intereſted views of his nephews, he was not entirely under their direction, nor altogether regardleſs of the intereſt of the Holy See. Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xv.

[f] Summonte, lib. x. p. 278.

THIS

BOOK II.

THIS treaty met with ſuch a reception at the court of France, as Avanſon had given reaſon to expect. Henry was allured by the proſpect which it opened to him of acquiring thoſe Italian dominions for which his predeceſſors had ſo often contended; and was of himſelf ſtrongly inclined to comply with the Pope's propoſals. The Conſtable Montmorency, ever bold, and often raſh in action, but in counſel provident, circumſpect, and cautious, employed ſeveral cogent arguments to diſſuade him; and was warmly ſeconded by the Cardinal of Tournon.

THEY obſerved, that, as the Emperor was about to reſign his dominions, it was highly probably, that either a peace, or a truce with Spain, might ſoon be eſtabliſhed; they repreſented how pernicious all thoſe enterpriſes in Italy had been, which Henry's anceſtors had undertaken, in circumſtances much more favourable than at the preſent period, when the nation was exhauſted by a long ſucceſſion of expenſive wars. And they endeavoured to convince him of the imprudence of unneceſſarily prolonging war with a prince poſſeſſed of ſo many reſources as the Emperor, depending on the feeble aid of a Pope, at the age of eighty; after whoſe death thoſe very forces on which he now relied, would probably be ranged on the ſide of the enemy.

HENRY,

HENRY, who had been long accuſtomed to pay the higheſt deference to the Conſtable's opinion, would have yielded to theſe arguments, had they not been warmly oppoſed by the Duke of Guiſe, and his brother the Cardinal of Lorrain; who flattered the King's ambition, and thereby obtained an eaſy victory on this occaſion over their rival. Whether there was ground for the ſuſpicions which were entertained, that Guiſe had formed a deſign on the kingdom of Naples, and the Cardinal on the papal throne, it is impoſſible to decide; but, from the intereſted and ambitious characters of theſe men, there is reaſon to believe, that neither a regard to the welfare of France, nor the glory of the King, determined them to offer the counſel which they gave. They knew that the management of the war, and the conduct of all the negociations relative to it, would be put into their hands; and they hoped, if the event were proſperous, to enjoy, in Italy, a more independent authority than they could expect to exerciſe in France, where they muſt ſubmit to perpetual controul from the preſence of the King, or from their rivals in the court. BOOK II.

"So fair an opportunity," ſaid the Cardinal, "of recovering thoſe dominions in Italy, which the crown of Spain has uſurped, ought not to be neglected. It was from the ſovereign pontiff,

BOOK II.

pontiff, that the French monarchs had originally received their title to the Neapolitan kingdom; and it would not be difficult for the King to aſſert his claim, with the aſſiſtance of the preſent Pope, whoſe family would, by their credit and influence, engage the friends of France to ſtand forth in defence of a cauſe which their anceſtors had ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported. And with regard to what had been ſaid of peace with the Emperor, as the proſpect of it was extremely precarious, ſo it was not to be ſuppoſed, that any benefit that would accrue from it, could be put in balance with that acceſſion of glory, which the King and the French nation would derive from the propoſed alliance."

THIS ſpecious but flimſy declamation produced the deſired effect on the improvident temper of the King. The Cardinal of Lorrain, agreeably to his expectations, was immediately ordered to repair to Rome; and the Cardinal of Tournon, though extremely averſe to the meaſure adopted, was required to accompany him. Not long afterwards the treaty was concluded in form, and both parties began ſecretly to prepare for putting it in execution.

Truce of Vaucelles, Dec. 15, 1555.

BUT Henry ſoon forgot the obligations which he had brought himſelf under in this treaty; and, in leſs than two months after it was ſigned,

ſigned, agreed to the truce of Vaucelles. The Cardinal of Lorrain was at that time in Italy; and the Conſtable, taking advantage of his abſence, repreſented to the King in ſo ſtrong a light the benefit which would ariſe from the truce, as overcame the reſolution of that unſteady prince, and perſuaded him to abandon thoſe alluring proſpects with which he had been dazzled and deceived. The Cardinal, after his laſt audience of the Pope, was about to ſet out from Rome, in order to ſolicit the Duke of Ferrera and the republic of Venice to accede to the alliances; when intelligence was brought him from the court of France, that, in a conference held at Vaucelles for an exchange of priſoners, a truce, with the condition of leaving both parties in poſſeſſion of their conqueſts, had been propoſed by the Imperialiſts. But he thought it ſo exceedingly improbable that either the Emperor, or Philip, would conſent to this condition, that he ſtill perſiſted in his journey, and left his information with the Cardinal of Tournon, to be communicated to the Pope. It made no greater impreſſion on Paul, than on the Cardinal of Lorrain. He endeavoured to make Tournon believe, that ſuch a truce would give him pleaſure; but it was an event, he ſaid, to be deſired, rather than to be hoped for, or expected.

BOOK II.

Not

BOOK II.

Conſternation of Paul.

NOT many days after, he received certain intelligence from his nuncio at the court of France, that this event, which he thought ſo exceedingly improbable, had taken place; that the truce was actually ſigned, and that Henry, as well as the Emperor and his ſon, had ſworn to obſerve it; the firſt at Blois, in the preſence of the Count de Lalain, and the two laſt before the Admiral de Coligni at Bruſſels. The news of this tranſaction excited in Paul and his nephews the moſt alarming apprehenſions. They were conſcious of having given the Emperor and Philip the juſteſt ground of offence. They could not ſuppoſe that their conduct had been entirely ſecret, and they were now expoſed to the reſentment of enemies, by whom they muſt be quickly overwhelmed [g].

His diſſimulation.

IN order to elude that vengeance which they juſtly merited, Paul affected to rejoice, as became the father of the Chriſtian church, at ſeeing an end put to the calamities of war. Under this maſk he concealed his intention for ſome time; and that he might conceal it ſtill longer and more effectually, he ſent two nuncios, a Cardinal of the name of Rebiba, to the Emperor and Philip; and his nephew Cardinal Caraffa, to the King of France. He gave the ſame public inſtructions to both, and ordered them to make an offer to theſe princes of his

[g] Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xvi.

media-

mediation for eſtabliſhing a ſolid peace on the foundation of the truce; and to treat with them of the meaſures proper to be taken for aſſembling a general council. But the real deſign of Caraffa's embaſſy was, to perſuade Henry to fulfil the conditions of that alliance with the Pope into which he had entered ſome months before [h].

Rebiba was purpoſely detained in Rome for ſeveral weeks; but Caraffa, having carried along with him Mareſchal Strozzi, a kinſman of the Queen of France, proceeded in his journey to Paris with the utmoſt expedition. He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the art and eloquence neceſſary for executing the difficult negociation which he had undertaken. And it was not without good reaſon that the Pontiff, when he reflected on his nephew's talents, ſtill flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs.

His nephew perſuades Henry to violate the truce.

Upon his arrival at Fountainbleau, Caraffa found the Courtiers divided, as formerly, with regard to the ſubject of this embaſſy. When Henry firſt entered into alliance with the Pope, the Conſtable was ſuſpected of having too faintly oppoſed it; not from any doubt which he entertained of its inexpediency, but either from the faithleſs complaiſance of a courtier

[h] Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. xvi.

to

BOOK II.

to the inclinations of the King, or from a deſire to have his rivals of the family of Guiſe removed to a diſtance from the court. But whatever ground there was for this ſuſpicion, it is certain that Montmorency had been the chief promoter of the truce of Vaucelles; and that he now ſhewed himſelf extremely averſe to that ſhameful violation of it, which Caraffa had come to ſolicit.

THE Duke of Guiſe, on the other hand, and his brother, the Cardinal, were ſtill as much bent on the Italian war as ever; and made no more ſcruple to exhort their maſter to undertake it, after he had ſworn to obſerve the truce with the Emperor, than they had done formerly, when he was at liberty, conſiſtently with his honour, either to embrace or reject it.

BETWEEN the oppoſite counſels which were given him, the unſtable mind of Henry remained for ſeveral days in ſuſpenſe. Elated with the ſucceſs which had hitherto attended his arms, and inflamed with the ambition of acquiring the Neapolitan kingdom, he was inclined to a renewal of the war, and withheld his conſent from it, only out of reſpect for his oath, and his deference to the opinion of the Conſtable. At length Caraffa having gained over the Queen, through the influence of Strozzi;

Strozzi; and the Guiſes having employed the ſtill more powerful interceſſion of the Ducheſs of Valentinois [1], Henry began to yield to the importunity of ſuch powerful ſolicitors, and admitted Caraffa to a private audience, which he had requeſted, in the hopes of completing that victory over the Conſtable's remonſtrances, and the King's remaining ſcruples, which his aſſociates had begun. On this occaſion, having, with the uſual ceremony, preſented to the King a conſecrated ſword, he remonſtrated to him, at great length, on the breach of his engagements with the Pontiff; and when he found that Henry was not offended with this freedom, he next addreſſed himſelf to his ambition, and repreſented, that a more favourable juncture than the preſent could not be deſired for attempting to expel the Spaniards from Italy. That the reins of government were now abandoned by the Emperor, and committed to his ſon; who, beſides his inexperience, was extremely unacceptable to the Italian ſtates and princes, and was not yet firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne. That his exchequer was drained by thoſe expenſive wars in which the Emperor had been almoſt continually engaged; and his armies were neither ſo numerous nor ſo flouriſhing as at any former period ſince the commencement

BOOK II.

[1] The famous Diana of Poitiers, Henry's miſtreſs.

BOOK II. of his father's reign. While, on the other hand, the French army would have eaſy acceſs to Naples, through the territories of the Pope, and would thence likewiſe be furniſhed, both with freſh troops, and with abundant ſupplies of ammunition and proviſions.

HENRY found it difficult any longer to withhold his conſent. But there were two points on which he required ſtill farther ſatisfaction, than either Caraffa's arguments or promiſes had given him. He could not entirely diveſt himſelf of the ſcruples which aroſe from his oath; and nothing offered by Caraffa had taken off the force of the Conſtable's objection againſt entering into engagements with a Pope in the extremity of old age, who, it was likely, would die before the end of the propoſed alliance could be accompliſhed. Caraffa had foreſeen both theſe difficulties, and was prepared to remove them. He produced from Paul a power to abſolve Henry from the obligation of his oath; he engaged that ſuch a number of cardinals, partiſans of France, and enemies to Spain, ſhould be nominated at the next promotion, as would ſecure to Henry the abſolute diſpoſal of the papacy, in the event of the Pontiff's death; and, for his further ſecurity, he promiſed, in all events, that Bologna, Ancona, Paliano, Civita-Vecchia,

chia, and even the caſtle of St. Angelo, ſhould be put into his poſſeſſion. BOOK II.

THE war was now reſolved upon without further heſitation. Caraffa immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Rebiba, who, according to his inſtructions, was advancing by ſlow journeys towards Bruſſels, to inform him of what had paſſed, and to deſire him to return to Rome. Henry received abſolution in form from the obligation of that ſacred law of Nature, which enjoins the obſervance of an oath; and, at the ſame time, he received a diſpenſation from a law of nations, conſidered as no leſs ſacred, by which it was held to be unchriſtian and barbarous to begin hoſtilities without a previous declaration of war[k].

As he flattered himſelf that his tranſaction with Caraffa might be for ſome time concealed, he was determined, if poſſible, to attack the Emperor and Philip, while, truſting to the truce, they were off their guard. And thus did this monarch, who was not leſs virtuous than moſt of his cotemporary princes, deliberately reſolve to add treachery to the perjury and falſehood into which he

[k] Thuanus, lib. xvii. c. vii. Father Paul, lib. v. Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. x. p. 71.

BOOK II. had been betrayed; under a perſuaſion that his conduct was not only juſtifiable, but even honourable, and meritorious in the ſight of God and man. Such is the faſcinating power of falſe religion; and ſo pernicious to ſociety that impious pretenſion to the power of annulling the ſacred obligations of morality, which was claimed by the Roman pontiffs, and which, through the ignorance of their votaries, they were permitted for many ages to enjoy.

CARAFFA had endeavoured to conceal his negociation at the court of France, under the pretext of treating with the King about the eſtabliſhment of peace, and the calling of a general council. But the Emperor and Philip were too well acquainted with his character, to be ſo eaſily deceived. They had penetrated into the real intention of the embaſſy, and had for ſome time kept a watchful eye over all the motions both of Henry and the Pope.

The violence of Paul.

THE conduct of Paul was extremely ill-calculated to elude the penetration of the Spaniſh miniſters. Beſides excommunicating the family of Colonna, and depriving them of their territories, he had treated with much ſeverity and injuſtice all thoſe whom he ſuſpected of being attached to the Spaniſh intereſt;

tereſt; and had received, in the moſt gracious manner, ſome Neapolitan exiles, who had fled to Rome. Some of his letters having been intercepted, he had put to the torture Antonio de Taſſis, poſt-maſter at Rome, though a Spaniſh ſubject; and, in violation of a privilege long enjoyed by the kings of Spain, had given his office to another. He had put under arreſt De la Vega, Philip's ambaſſador at Rome; and, with no ſmall degree of vanity, ſet on foot a trial in the conſiſtory, againſt Philip himſelf, on pretence that, as his liege-lord, he had a right to deprive him of the kingdom of Naples, on account of his having failed in the payment of 700 ducats, which he alleged was an annual tribute due from the poſſeſſor of that kingdom to the Holy See [1].

BOOK II.

While Paul gave theſe impotent proofs of his reſentment, his nephews were making diligent preparation for the approaching war. They were employed aſſiduouſly in repairing the fortifications of Rome, Paliano, and other places. And, having levied a conſiderable number of troops, they engaged Camillo Orſini, one of the ableſt generals of the age, to command them.

[1] Gianone, liv. xxxiii. c. i. Summonte, tom. iv. p. 270. The Duke of Alva's letter in Clement VII. had renounced this claim.

BOOK II.

The Duke of Alva.

THE adminiſtration of Philip's affairs in Italy was at this time in the hands of Ferdinand de Toledo, Duke of Alva; a ſingular and diſtinguiſhed perſonage in Philip's reign, whom there will be frequent occaſion to mention in the ſequel. He was arrogant, vain, and proud; violent, inflexible, and relentleſs; but patient, prudent, and ſagacious; inured from his youth to arms, and poſſeſſed of conſummate ſkill in the art of war. He had been intruſted with the ſupreme command of the Emperor's forces in Germany; and, though unſucceſsful in the ſiege of Metz, had diſcovered uncommon vigour and abilities. He did not, however, enjoy the ſame degree of credit with the father, which he afterwards attained under the ſon; whom he nearly reſembled in his character, and whoſe favour he had courted with great aſſiduity and ſucceſs. Through the influence of Ruy Gomez de Silva, Philip's principal favourite, who beheld with a jealous eye Alva's growing favour with the King, and was deſirous, on that account, to have him removed to a diſtance from the helm of government, he had, about a year before, been appointed viceroy of Naples, as well as governor of Milan, and commander in chief of all the Spaniſh forces in Italy.

PHILIP had been fully informed, by Alva, of

of the Pope's conduct with regard to him; and even before he knew of his alliance with Henry, he could not entertain any doubt of his intentions. Had he permitted Alva to act with vigour, and to improve the advantage over Paul, which his defenceleſs ſituation afforded him, he might have got poſſeſſion of all his fortified places, have deterred Henry from entering into any new connexion with him, and have thereby prevented the renewal of the war. But being convinced that Henry would never violate the truce of Vaucelles, by which he was ſo great a gainer; and knowing that the Pontiff could do nothing without the aſſiſtance of the French, he gave orders to Alva, to uſe every art of perſuaſion, before he ſhould have recourſe to arms. Alva, though naturally averſe to all mild expedients, complied with his inſtructions; and, by letters and meſſengers, complained, remonſtrated, and even ſoothed and flattered both Paul and his nephews. All his endeavours, however, were ineffectual. They ſtill continued their preparations; and gave him ſometimes haughty, and always unſatisfactory replies. At length the Duke of Alva ſent Pirro de Loffredo, with one letter to the college of cardinals, and another to Paul[m]; in which, after enumerating the

BOOK II.

[m] The original letters are preſerved by Summonte, lib. x. and dated Auguſt 21, 1556.

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various injuries which his maſter had received and renewing his former offers of peace and friendſhip, he concluded with proteſting that if his offers were again rejected, the Pope ſhould be chargeable with all the calamities that might follow. Before the arrival of Loffredo, Paul had received intelligence from France of the ſucceſs of the Cardinal's negoçiation; and the Duke of Alva's letter ſerved only to precipitate him into new extravagancies. He threw Loffredo into priſon, and would even have put him to death, had not the college of cardinals interpoſed[n]. He then gave orders to Aldobrandin, the conſiſtorial advocate, to finiſh the proceſs which he had begun againſt Philip, on account of his failure in the paying tribute for Naples; and, after hearing the cauſe pleaded, he paſſed ſentence, depriving him of the ſovereignty of that kingdom[o].

This violent conduct of Paul gave great offence throughout Europe; and, in Italy, ſerved rather to obſtruct, than to promote his deſigns. The Venetians refuſed to accede to his alliance; and the Neapolitans, perceiving what the ambition of his nephews

[n] Summonte, lib. x. p. 277. Gianone, lib. xxxiii. c. i.

[o] Gianone adds, that he was diſſuaded from publiſhing it by Camerario of Benevento, the great Civilian, a Neapolitan exile.

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aimed at, with reſpect to them, entered warmly into all the prudent meaſures which the Duke of Alva planned for their defence. BOOK II.

Philip's ſcruples.

But Paul's extravagant behaviour did not excite in Philip that reſentment and indignation which might have been expected from a young, ambitious, powerful monarch, of a temper of mind impatient of injuries and affronts. Notwithſtanding the contumelious treatment which he had received, he ſtill continued irreſolute, and diſcovered an amazing reluctance againſt proceeding to extremities.

Some hiſtorians affirm, that he had early imbibed, from the Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics, who had the care of his education, the higheſt veneration for the Holy See; and entertained ſome ſcruples as to the lawfulneſs of employing force againſt the ſovereign Pontiff. Others aſſert, that theſe ſcruples were mere grimace and affectation. He had already formed the plan of ſubjecting Europe to his dominion; and zeal for the Catholic faith was both the pretext and the inſtrument which he had reſolved to employ for accompliſhing his deſign.

Neither of theſe accounts ought to be entirely rejected; and neither of them ought to be admitted as ſatisfactory. On the one hand, it is impoſſible to doubt that ambition, and not

BOOK II.

not religion, was the ruling principle of Philip's conduct; and on the other, when we reflect on the pains which were taken, from his earlieſt infancy, to inſpire him with an attachment to the popiſh faith, and conſider how ſerious and zealous he ever appeared in the profeſſion and ſupport of it; it will be impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that, in religious matters, he was entirely hypocritical. It is improbable that any perſon could act ſo uniform a part as Philip did, without feeling, in a conſiderable degree, the power of that motive which he held forth to the world as the principle of his conduct. Nor does it afford the ſmalleſt preſumption againſt this ſuppoſition, that his conduct was, on many occaſions, inconſiſtent with religious ſincerity. His religion was not ſurely pure and genuine. It was neither the religion of nature, nor that of Chriſt, but was the barbarous ſuperſtition of the Church of Rome, which, in the age of Philip, inſtead of deterring men from vice, tended to encourage them in the practice of it, by inculcating upon them the higheſt reverence for an order of prieſts, ſuppoſed to be inveſted with the power of abſolving from the guilt and puniſhment of the moſt enormous crimes. To Philip's ſuperſtitious veneration for the Holy See, therefore, may be aſcribed, in part, both his moderation in the preſent juncture, and a reſolution which

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he formed, to conſult the moſt diſtinguiſhed divines, with regard to the lawfulneſs of waging war againſt an enemy whoſe perſon he deemed ſo ſacred and inviolable. BOOK II.

THOSE men knew well what counſel was ſuited to his preſent circumſtances; and they declared, that, although it behoved him to begin with ſupplicating His Holineſs, as the univerſal father of the church, yet if his entreaties were rejected, the law of nature would permit him to defend his territories, and to vindicate his right by force of arms [p].

BY this anſwer, Philip's religious ſcruples were removed. Still, however, he lamented the neceſſity he lay under, of beginning his reign with hoſtilities, againſt a power, with which, more than with any other, he was deſirous of cultivating peace and friendſhip. But at laſt, after having loſt a great deal of time in negociating, he ſent orders to the Duke of Alva to take the field. Alva's military operations.

THAT general, having ſome time before gone from the dutchy of Milan to the kingdom of Naples, and fixed his head-quarters near the confines of the Eccleſiaſtical State, began his march in the beginning of September one thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſix, with a well- 1556.

[p] Ferreras, vol. ix. p. 373.

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BOOK II. 1556.

disciplined army; which, though small in number, was superior to that which the Pontiff had provided to oppose it. In a few weeks Alva reduced several towns in the Campagna di Roma; and took possession of them in the name of the sacred college, and of the future Pope. The people of Rome were thrown into consternation by his approach; and many families left the city, in order to avoid the calamities of a siege. Paul still retained all his wonted haughtiness, and poured out threats and anathemas against the enemy.

He grants a truce.

But the Duke of Alva still continued to advance till his troops could make incursions almost to the gates of Rome. In this situation Cardinal Caraffa found his uncle's affairs upon his return from France. The army which he had obtained from Henry had already reached Piedmont; but, being detained there by the rigour of the winter, could not arrive in time to save Rome from falling into the hands of the Spaniards. In order to prevent this, Caraffa prevailed on Paul, who, from pride, and ignorance of his danger, was extremely reluctant, to apply for a cessation of arms; and Alva, at the request of his uncle, the Cardinal of St. James, consented to a conference with Caraffa, in the Isle of Fiumicino. He could not be ignorant, that this crafty Italian's intention was only to amuse him till the French army should approach.

approach. But an interval of repoſe was no leſs expedient for himſelf, than for the enemy. His army was greatly diminiſhed by putting garriſons into the conquered towns. His ſhips with proviſions had been long detained by contrary winds; and his preſence was neceſſary in Naples, to haſten his levies, and put the kingdom into a poſture of defence before the arrival of the Duke of Guiſe. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, Alva readily conſented to a truce of forty days; and immediately after concluding it, he ſet out for Naples, where he exerted himſelf with great aſſiduity, in completing his preparations for the next campaign. BOOK II. 1556.

THE Duke of Guiſe had now paſſed the Alps, with twelve thouſand foot, and near two thouſand horſe, and had advanced as far as Rheggio. There he was met by the Duke of Ferrara, who, having acceded to the alliance between the Pope and Henry, had brought along with him near ſeven thouſand men. Guiſe deliberated for ſome time whether he ſhould begin his operations with laying ſiege to Cremona, Milan, and other towns in the north of Italy; or, leaving theſe behind him in the hands of the enemy, ſhould march directly towards Naples. He had been earneſtly exhorted by Mareſchal de Briſſac, whom he ſaw in Piedmont, to embrace the former of theſe meaſures, as being the ſafeſt and moſt practicable; and 1557.

BOOK II. 1557.

and in this opinion the Duke of Ferrara concurred; but Guiſe had received poſitive orders from the King, to be directed in this matter by the Pope, who inſiſted that he ſhould advance without delay towards Naples. In compliance, therefore, with his inſtructions, he purſued his march ſouthward till he reached the frontiers of that part of the kingdom which is called the Abruzzo. At his arrival in Rome, he was received in triumph, as if he had been already crowned with victory. But he ſoon found that he had been cruelly deceived by Caraffa, with regard to the aſſiſtance which that prelate had ſo confidently promiſed him in the name of the Pontiff; who had not been able either to raiſe the troops which he had ſtipulated, or to furniſh his magazines with an adequate quantity of military ſtores. Guiſe was extremely mortified at his preſent diſagreeable ſituation, and ſaw that he was likely to meet with nothing but diſgrace and ſhame, where he had flattered himſelf with the hopes of adding to his former glory. He laid ſiege, however, to Civitella, and carried on his operations againſt it, for more than three weeks, with his wonted ſpirit and intrepidity. After having made a breach in the wall, he attempted to take the place by ſtorm. But his troops were repulſed with great loſs by the garriſon, who were bravely ſeconded by the inhabitants. Even the women diſcovered, on this occaſion,

He lays ſiege to Civitella.

the moſt undaunted reſolution, and ſeemed determined to lay down their lives, rather than ſubmit to the dominion of the French; whoſe inſolent uſe of victory, in former Italian expeditions, was not yet, after many years, obliterated from their minds. BOOK II. 1557.

THE Duke of Alva had reſolved, with his uſual caution, to act on the defenſive; and to fortify his camp on the ſouth ſide of the river Piſcarra, which lay between him and the enemy. But when he found that their enterpriſe againſt Civitella detained them ſo long, he concluded that the accounts which he had received of their ſtrength muſt have been exaggerated; and therefore he croſſed the river, and advanced towards them.

GUISE was extremely unwilling to quit the ſiege; but, having received certain intelligence that the Spaniſh army was ſuperior to his own, he liſtened to the advice of Mareſchal Strozzi; and retired into the eccleſiaſtical territories. Alva followed him: but neither he nor Guiſe ſeem to have wiſhed for a general engagement. The former could not have ventured on it with any probability of ſucceſs; and the latter thought it abſurd to riſk a kingdom without neceſſity on the chance of a battle [q]. But is obliged to raiſe it.

[q] Haræus ſays, that Guiſe laboured to force Alva to engage; but this does not appear from the detail in Thuanus.

WHILST

BOOK II. 1557.

WHILST theſe things paſſed in the Abruzzo, Mark Anthony Colonna made rapid progreſs in the neighbourhood of Rome, where he reduced ſeveral forts and towns, and obtained a victory over the Pope's forces, commanded by Julio Orſini and the Marquis of Montebello.

BY theſe diſaſters, Paul was overwhelmed with terror. And when he was lamenting, in the conſiſtory, the calamities in which his dominions were involved, he expreſſed his dread, that ere long the Vatican itſelf would be in the hands of the enemy. He added, that he longed now to be with Chriſt; and, as if he had engaged in the preſent war from zeal for the faith, and not from ambition and reſentment, he concluded with ſaying, that he would wait for his crown of martyrdom, without diſmay.

HE was willing, however, to preſerve his earthly crown as long as poſſible; and had ſent to the Duke of Guiſe, intreating him to haſten towards Rome for his defence. This general was now on his march thither; full of vexation and chagrin on account of the inglorious part which he had acted. He called upon Cardinal Caraffa to fulfil his promiſes; and he employed all his intereſt to procure ſupplies from the court of France. But the Pope's reſources were already exhauſted; and the French monarch

had more than ſufficient employment at home for all the troops which he had reſerved, after providing for his Italian expedition. BOOK II. 1557.

PHILIP had, for the reaſons above mentioned, entered into the war with reluctance; but having, in the origin of it, received the higheſt provocation from Henry, as well as from the Pope, and knowing that, in the beginning of his reign, the eyes of all Europe would be fixed upon his conduct, he had reſolved to exert his utmoſt vigour, and to attack Henry in that quarter where he could moſt ſucceſsfully annoy him. The war in France.

WITH extraordinary induſtry and diſpatch, he aſſembled a numerous army in the neighbourhood of Charlemont, under the command of Philibert Emanuel, Duke of Savoy. And Emanuel cheerfully undertook the charge committed to him, as it gave him at once an opportunity of diſplaying his great abilities, and of taking vengeance on the French King, by whom he had been expelled from his dominions. Of the army which was collected, only a ſmall part conſiſted of Spaniards; the greateſt part were either Dutch and Flemings, or Germans. In levying them, Philip was much indebted to the zeal and alacrity with which his ſubjects in the Netherlands eſpouſed his cauſe. For the States of theſe provinces, not-

BOOK II. 1557.

withſtanding the prejudice to their commerce, which they foreſaw muſt ariſe from the war, granted, with unuſual liberality, all the ſupplies which he demanded. But while in this they gave proof of their loyalty, they diſcovered, by another part of their conduct, their jealouſy and diſcontent. They reſerved in their own hands the adminiſtration of the money which they voted him; and appointed commiſſioners to apply it to the payment of the troops. This action, which proceeded from their jealouſy of the Spaniards, made a deep impreſſion on the dark reſentful mind of Philip; it contributed to alienate his affections from his Flemiſh ſubjects; and gave him an inveterate prejudice againſt that free conſtitution of their government, by which they were thus enabled to limit his authority. But he was ſenſible how improper it would have been, in the preſent conjuncture, to diſcover his reſentment, or to diſpute their privileges. He agreed to accept of their ſupplies, with the condition annexed to the grant of them; and proceeded to complete his preparations.

Philip engages England in the war.

Not ſatisfied with the army which he had drawn together from Germany and the Netherlands, augmented by a reinforcement ſent from Spain; he reſolved, if poſſible, to perſuade the Engliſh to enter into the war. With this view he went over to England. He found the privy

privy-counſellors, the Queen herſelf, and the whole body of the people averſe to his deſign. It has almoſt never happened, either before or ſince that period, that war with the French was not agreeable to the Engliſh. During many centuries they had been accuſtomed to conſider their French neighbours as enemies and rivals, with whom they often ſhewed an eagerneſs to contend, when it was greatly their intereſt to remain at peace. But their enmity towards the French yielded at this time to their jealouſy of the Spaniards; and they entertained the moſt irreconcileable averſion to the propoſed alliance. Mary, as juſt now hinted, was not of herſelf inclined to the war; but notwithſtanding this, and the cold indifference with which Philip had ever treated her, ſhe was unable to reſiſt his ſolicitation [r].

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HER kinſman Cardinal Pole, and her other counſellors, repreſented, that it was a chief article of her marriage-treaty, that the alliance with France ſhould be preſerved inviolate; that the violation of it would excite an univerſal alarm with regard to the obſervance of the other articles; and that the preſent ſtate of her finances would render it impoſſible for her, if ſhe ſhould enter into the war, to acquit her-

[r] Van Meteren. Thuanus, lib. xix. c. vii. Camden's Apparatus.

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ſelf with honour. But Philip having ſaid, that if he were not gratified in his requeſt, he would leave England, and never return to it; Mary was deaf to every argument that could be employed to diſſuade her from her purpoſe; and, without farther heſitation, ordered war to be declared in the city of Rheims, with the uſual ceremony; on pretences which were either entirely falſe, or extremely frivolous. As ſhe knew it would be in vain to apply to her parliament for aſſiſtance in carrying on a war ſo diſagreeable to the nation, ſhe had recourſe to the oppreſſive expedient of extorting loans from individuals and corporations. By this, and other means of the ſame nature, ſhe equipped a conſiderable fleet, and raiſed an army of eight thouſand men; of which ſhe gave the command to the Earl of Pembroke.

When this reinforcement had joined the Duke of Savoy, his cavalry amounted to twelve thouſand, and his infantry to between forty and fifty thouſand; an army much ſuperior to any which Henry could muſter to oppoſe it. This inconſiderate Monarch had not expected that Philip would have been able to make ſo great an effort, and ſaw now the folly of his late engagements with the Pope. He was not wanting, however, either in prudence or activity, in repairing his fault, and providing for the ſecurity

rity of his kingdom. He committed the chief command of the forces to the Conſtable, whom, notwithſtanding his averſeneſs to the war, he choſe to employ, as the ableſt of all his generals, to conduct it; and a great number of the principal nobility and gentry flocked to the camp, eager to diſplay that zeal and bravery, which the French nation hath often exhibited in defence of their King and country. BOOK II. 1557.

The Conſtable could not for ſome time conjecture on which ſide the Duke of Savoy intended to turn his arms. His firſt movements were calculated to beget a perſuaſion, that he deſigned to enter France by the way of Champaign; but no ſooner had he drawn the French army to that quarter, than, changing his route, he marched into Picardy, and laid ſiege to St. Quintin. The ſiege and battle of St. Quintin.

This town muſt quickly have ſurrendered to ſo great a force, had it not been defended by the celebrated Jaſper de Coligni, Admiral of France, who made on this occaſion a conſpicuous diſplay of thoſe extraordinary talents which rendered him afterwards one of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages of the age. Being governor of the province in which the place lay, he thought it his duty to exert himſelf to the utmoſt for its preſervation; and he forced his way into it, through the ſurrounding army, with Auguſt. Admiral Coligni.

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with a body of troops, which he animated to expoſe themſelves to every hazard of war in its defence. Immediately after his arrival, he expelled the Spaniards from the ſuburbs, and ſet fire to the houſes. But he ſoon perceived, that, by reaſon of the neglected ſtate of the fortifications, the garriſon was ſtill too weak; and that, without a reinforcement, it would be impoſſible to hold out long againſt ſo numerous an enemy. Of this he gave immediate intelligence to the Conſtable his uncle, and at the ſame time informed him where it would be eaſieſt to introduce the ſuccour which he requeſted. The Conſtable, anxious for his nephew's ſafety, and ſenſible how neceſſary it was for the preſervation of the kingdom that the Duke of Savoy ſhould be detained before St. Quintin, appointed d'Andelot, the Admiral's brother, to the command of a ſelect body of two thouſand foot, deſtined for the relief of the beſieged. A perſon of the name of Valpergue, well acquainted with the face of the country, had been ſent by the Admiral, to ſerve as a guide to this reinforcement. But whether he miſtook his way, or the Duke of Savoy had got intelligence of the deſign, is uncertain. D'Andelot found the enemy prepared to receive him, and was ſo vigorouſly attacked, that he eſcaped with difficulty, after the greateſt part of his troops had been cut to pieces.

By

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By this diſaſter the beſieged were extremely dejected, and the Admiral had much occaſion to exert all his addreſs and eloquence, to prevent them from abandoning themſelves to deſpair. From a high tower in the town he could view the country round, and ſaw that the place was completely inveſted on every ſide but one, where there was a marſh or lake, too deep in ſome places to be paſſed on foot, and in others too ſhallow to admit of boats. Through this marſh, however, he hoped that his friends might introduce a reinforcement. Having concerted with the Conſtable the time and manner of putting his deſign in execution, he threw up the earth in a part of the marſh, and reduced the water into a canal large enough to receive ſome ſmall boats which he had prepared. The Conſtable then advanced toward the lake with all his forces, and gave d'Andelot an opportunity of entering the town, with between four and five hundred men[s]. But, in making his approach, the Conſtable had led his army through ſome narrow defiles, which he muſt repaſs before he could put his troops in ſafety. His miſconduct, in thus expoſing his army to ſo great a riſk in ſight of an enemy ſo much ſuperior,

[s] Labourcur additions, &c. p. 375.

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was quickly perceived by the Duke of Savoy; and a council of war was immediately called to conſider of the meaſures proper to be purſued. Many of the officers thought that the Conſtable ſhould be ſuffered to retire; but Count Egmont, general of the horſe, whom Philip afterwards uſed ſo ungratefully, maintained with warmth [t], that it was practicable to attack him in his retreat with the higheſt probability of ſucceſs. The Duke of Savoy approved of the plan of attack which the Count propoſed, and committed the execution of it to himſelf. No time was loſt. Egmont advanced inſtantly at the head of the cavalry, while the Duke haſtened forward with the infantry to ſupport him; and finding the enemy unprepared for their defence, he ſoon threw them into diſorder. The Conſtable exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly to retrieve his error; but Count Egmont, ſeconded by the infantry, with the general at their head, advanced with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Conſtable found it impoſſible to recover his troops from the confuſion into which they had been thrown. Perceiving that the fortune of the battle was irretrievable, and ſtung with the conſciouſneſs of the impru-

[t] Auctore, confuaſore, & prope dicam, perfectore Egmondenſi. L. Guicciardini, p. 150, lib. iii.

dence

dence of which he had been guilty, he ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy, and ſeemed determined not to ſurvive the reproach in which his raſhneſs had involved him. He was dangerouſly wounded, and would have fallen in the field, as he deſired; but, being perſonally known to ſome Flemiſh officers, he was by them reſcued from the ſoldiers and taken priſoner. His army was entirely broken. Three thouſand men were killed on the ſpot, and four thouſand taken priſoners; among whom, beſides the Conſtable and his two ſons, there were many perſons of diſtinction, and ſeveral of the firſt nobility in France. On the ſide of the victors only eighty men were killed; a certain proof that the attack had been conducted with no leſs prudence than intrepidity.

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The French defeated.

PHILIP, although a ſlave to the luſt of power, yet unambitious of military glory, remained at Cambray till intelligence was brought him of the victory. He then entered the camp with great pomp, and when the Duke of Savoy and Count Egmont approached him, he received them in the moſt gracious manner, and expreſſed his gratitude for the important ſervice they had performed, with a degree of ſenſibility and joy which he was ſeldom accuſtomed to diſcover[u]. His conduct

[u] Cabrera, lib. iv. c. 7.

on

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on this occaſion was in another reſpect more agreeable to his character. In memory of the battle, he vowed to conſecrate a palace, a church, and a monaſtery, to St. Lawrence, becauſe it was on the anniverſary of that Saint that he had obtained the victory. He afterwards religiouſly fulfilled his vow by building the Eſcurial; for which he reſerved immenſe ſums, notwithſtanding the difficulties in which, through his expenſive wars, he was almoſt continually involved.

Surrender of St. Quintin.

THE battle of St. Quintin might have been attended with the moſt important conſequences, if Philip had complied with the advice of ſome of his general officers, who exhorted him to lead his army without delay into the heart of France. But this meaſure was too bold to be reliſhed by a prince like Philip, whoſe caution often bordered on timidity. He gave orders to proceed in the ſiege of St. Quintin; ſaying, that it would be dangerous to leave ſo ſtrong a place behind him in the hands of the enemy, and that every army that ventured to penetrate into a powerful kingdom like that of France, ought firſt to ſecure their retreat. His officers were the more eaſily reconciled to theſe orders, as they believed it impoſſible for the beſieged to hold out above a few days longer. But they were diſappointed in their expectations by the ſkill and intrepidity of the Admiral;

ral; who, in order to ſave his country, and retard the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms, had reſolved to bury himſelf in the ruins of the place, rather than agree to a ſurrender. He inſpired the garriſon with the ſame generous reſolution; and, though the fortifications were weak and ruinous, he withſtood all the vigorous and ſkilful efforts of the Duke of Savoy, till the ſeventeenth day after the renewal of the ſiege, when the town was aſſaulted in eleven different places at one time, and both the Admiral and his brother, after a brave and obſtinate defence, were taken priſoners on the breach. During the aſſault, Philip ſhewed himſelf to his troops in complete armour; and this was the only time in his life in which he was ever ſeen in a military dreſs. He allowed his army to plunder the town, as a reward of their labours; but gave ſtrict orders to preſerve the churches and the relics of the tutelary ſaint. 1557.

In the mean time Henry's miniſters, who had been overwhelmed with conſternation, employed to the beſt advantage the leiſure which the Admiral's heroic bravery afforded them. They levied forces in every quarter of the kingdom, gathered together the remains of the vanquiſhed army, ſent for the troops which ſerved in Piedmont under the Mareſchal de Briſſac, and recalled the Duke of Guiſe. In a few

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a few weeks the whole eaſtern frontier was in a poſture of defence, and an army collected in Picardy under the Duke of Neveres, able to make head againſt the enemy. Philip then perceived that he had ſuffered the only opportunity to eſcape which he would probably ever have, of penetrating into France, and ſeizing the capital unprepared. He was now under a neceſſity of being ſatisfied with employing his troops in enterpriſes of leſs ſplendour and importance; and the only fruit of his victory at St. Quintin was, the taking of the inconſiderable towns of Catelet, Ham, and Noyon; after which, he diſmiſſed a great part of his army, ſent home his Engliſh forces, and retired himſelf to Bruſſels[x].

Peace concluded between Philip and the Pope.

THE recalling of the Duke of Guiſe from Italy rendered it necessary for the Pope, though exceedingly reluctant, to apply for peace; to which Philip readily conſented upon much more moderate terms than could have been expected, conſidering that Paul was now entirely at his mercy, and that no enemy remained in Italy able to withſtand his power. The ſame motives, whether religious or political, that made him ſo averſe to enter-

[x] Thuanus ſays, that the Engliſh and Spaniards quarrelled after the battle, and that this was the reaſon why Philip ſo haſtily broke up his camp. Lib. xix. p. 660.

ing

ing into this war with the Pontiff, determined him to have it brought as ſoon as poſſible to a concluſion. Almoſt the only condition which he required was, that Paul ſhould obſerve a ſtrict neutrality between France and Spain. All the eccleſiaſtical towns which had been taken were reſtored; and orders ſent to the Duke of Alva to go to Rome, and ſupplicate the Pope's forgiveneſs, both in his own name and that of his maſter, for their crime of invading the ſacred poſſeſſions of the church. In theſe conditions, and in the manner in which they were fulfilled, Paul appeared as if his arms had been victorious; and Philip, as if he had been humbled and overcome. Such was the reverence which the latter either felt in reality for the Holy See, or thought it neceſſary to affect, in order to promote his ambitious deſigns[y].

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In this manner did Philip put a period to the war with the ſovereign Pontiff; but that with Henry ſtill continued. This prince, conſcious of his incapacity, and ſenſible that an exertion of the higheſt abilities was neceſſary in the preſent critical ſituation of his affairs, transferred almoſt his whole authority to the Duke of Guiſe, and created him Viceroy of France, under the name of Lieutenant Gene-

The Duke of Guiſe returns from Italy.

[y] Thuanus. Summonte, c. 10.

ral

BOOK II. 1557. ral of the kingdom. The French nation knew how much the ambition of this nobleman had contributed to involve them in their preſent calamities; nor were they ignorant how unſucceſsful his attempts in Italy had been againſt the ſagacity and ſkill of Alva; yet ſo ſplendid were his accompliſhments, and to ſo great a height in the general eſteem had his ſpirited defence of Metz againſt the Emperor exalted him, that his arrival diffuſed univerſal joy, and rouſed the nation from that deſpondency into which it had been caſt by the late diſaſter at St. Quintin. He quickly ſhewed that his countrymen were not miſtaken in the opinion which they entertained of his abilities. The ordinary ſeaſon for action was over, and the enemy had gone into winter-quarters, when he took the field at the head of an army which he had collected with the utmoſt ſecrecy and diſpatch. The eyes of all Europe were directed towards him, and Philip attended to his motions with much anxiety; never doubting that he intended to fall either upon St. Quintin, or ſome of the frontier towns of the Netherlands. It ſoon appeared that he meditated an attack, by which the intereſts of Philip's allies would be more affected than his own, but in the ſucceſs of which France was more deeply intereſted than even in the recovery of St. Quintin. For more than two hundred years the town of Calais had remained

1558. January. Siege of Calais.

in

in the hands of the Engliſh; and as it ſerved for a key by which they could at all times open an entrance for their armies into France, it had been ever deemed one of their moſt valuable poſſeſſions. The French monarchs were fully ſenſible of the diſhonour, as well as of the danger, which attended the ſuffering a rival nation to poſſeſs a place of ſo much importance in their dominions. But in thoſe days, when the art of attacking towns was little known, Calais was regarded as impregnable. Nor had any of the French Kings, even in the height of proſperity, ever thought of laying ſiege to it. They were ignorant of the means of taking it by ſtorm, and they could not reduce it by blockade; while the Engliſh could eaſily furniſh it by ſea with freſh troops, ſtores, and proviſions. But a plan of attack, which had never occurred to any perſon, was diſcovered by the fruitful genius of the Admiral de Coligni, and by him had been ſuggeſted to the Duke of Guiſe.

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In order to carry this plan into execution, and thereby to redeem the nation from what had ever been conſidered as reproachful and ignominious, Guiſe put his troops in motion long before the uſual ſeaſon for action had arrived. He judged wiſely in making choice of the rigour of winter for beginning his enter-

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priſe; for beſides that the enemy had no army in the field at this time to diſturb his operations, he knew that the Queen of England and her miniſters had, from a principle of ill-judged œconomy, been accuſtomed to diſmiſs a great part of the garriſon in the end of autumn, and to truſt for the ſecurity of the place, to the marſhy ground on the land-ſide, by which, they believed, that, in winter, all acceſs to it would be rendered impracticable.

But the briſkneſs of the Duke of Guiſe's approaches ſoon convinced the Governor, Lord Wentworth, how little reaſon there was for this imprudent confidence. Wentworth repreſented to the Engliſh miniſtry, the neceſſity of ſending him an immediate reinforcement. He acquainted them that he had not above one fourth of the number requiſite to defend the works; and that, with the preſent garriſon, it was impoſſible to prevent the place from falling quickly into the hands of the enemy. Had Mary's miniſters been ever ſo deſirous of complying with his requeſt, it would not have availed him. Guiſe was ſenſible that the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe depended on his conducting it with expedition. He puſhed forward all the operations of the ſiege with extraordinary vigour, and although it is acknowledged that the Governor and garriſon acquitted themſelves

ſelves with honour, yet he reduced them to the neceſſity of capitulating on the eighth day after his arrival[z]. He then laid ſiege to Guiſnes and Ham, which he ſubdued with great facility; and thus, in leſs than four weeks, he expelled the Engliſh from all thoſe poſſeſſions on the continent which they had enjoyed ſince the time of Edward the Third, and in the acquiſition of which that victorious prince had, after the battle of Creſſy, employed a numerous army for near a twelvemonth.

1558. January 8th

THE remaining part of winter was ſpent in preparing for the next campaign: and, on the part of the French, preparations were carried on with the utmoſt diligence, not only in France but in Germany, where forces were levied to the amount of four thouſand horſe and fourteen thouſand foot. Theſe troops the Duke of Guiſe received in Lorrain; and then he marched with his whole forces united, and inveſted Thionville, a city of great importance in the province of Luxemburg. The garriſon, which conſiſted of eighteen hundred men, made a vigorous defence; but, as the vigilance of Guiſe rendered all attempts to introduce ſupplies impracticable, they were ſoon obliged to capitulate.

The reduction of Thionville.

[z] Thuanus, l. 20. Van Meteren, p. 18. Carte's Hiſt. of England.

BOOK II.

1558. The battle of Gravelines.

WHILE the Duke of Guiſe was thus employed in Luxemburg, the Mareſchal de Thermes, an old experienced commander, who had been appointed governor of Calais, having collected an army of ten thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, invaded Flanders, took and deſtroyed Dunkirk, together with ſome other places of ſmaller note, and penetrated as far as Newport, laying waſte the country with fire and ſword. Philip ſent Count Egmont, with an army ſuperior in number, to oppoſe him. On the Count's approach, De Thermes retired haſtily towards Gravelines, intending to continue his march to Calais, along the ſhore, without riſking a battle. But the impetuoſity and ardour of Count Egmont, who had advanced towards him with great rapidity, put it out of his power to execute this deſign. His men too were loaded with the ſpoil of the ravaged country, which, whilſt it retarded their march, contributed not a little to accelerate the progreſs of the enemy. He had time, however, to repaſs the river Aa; but, finding it impoſſible any longer to avoid an engagement, he drew up his army advantageouſly on a plain, where the enemy could not attack him but in front, nor avail themſelves of the ſuperiority of their number. He placed his carriages with the baggage and plunder on the ſouth, and had the ſea upon the north, and the mouth

mouth of the Aa behind him. In this poſture he waited for the enemy; and, being fully prepared for their reception, he made conſiderable havoc among them with his artillery as they advanced. This ſerved only to quicken the approach of the Flemings, and to bring on the ſooner a cloſe fight, in which almoſt every part of both armies was engaged, troop with troop, and man with man. The French were rendered deſperate by their ſituation in an enemy's country, where they could not eſcape without conquering; and the Flemings were animated, partly by revenge for the outrages that had been committed by the enemy, and partly by the deſire of recovering the ſpoil which they had carried off. The battle was obſtinate and bloody, and the iſſue remained for ſome time doubtful. It would probably have been ſooner decided, if the Germans in Count Egmont's army had ſhewn an equal regard with the Flemings to the exhortations and example of their general, who not only acted the part of a prudent commander, but often mingled with the foremoſt combatants, and gave conſpicuous proofs of the moſt heroic valour. The French, however, ſtill maintained their ground, and ſeemed reſolved either on death or victory; when, fortunately for Count Egmont, ſome Engliſh ſhips of war, which happened to be cruiſing upon the coaſt, perceiving the ſmoke, and

1558.

BOOK II. 1558.

conjecturing the occaſion of it, entered the river, and began to diſcharge their guns upon the French army. Although they did not approach near enough to do much execution, yet ſo unexpected an event, in the time of battle, could not fail to produce an alarm even in the moſt reſolute, and it threw the cavalry into confuſion. Count Egmont improved, with great dexterity, the advantage which was thus preſented to him; and puſhing forward with all his force, he broke their ranks and diſperſed them. The infantry, intimidated, turned their backs and fled. Near two thouſand veteran troops were ſlain on the field of battle. Many were drowned in the river; and ſome were killed by the peaſants, in revenge for the devaſtation of their country. A ſmall number only made their eſcape. The Mareſchal De Thermes, who was grievouſly wounded, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, beſides three thouſand common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners. All the artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the victors; whoſe loſs did not exceed four hundred men[a].

PHILIP was now at liberty to employ all his forces united againſt the Duke of Guiſe. Having almoſt exhauſted his finances by the ex-

[a] Thuanus, lib. xx. Van Meteren. p. 16. Haræus tom. ii. p. 698.

traordinary

traordinary effort which he made in the firſt campaign, and having found it impoſſible to draw any conſiderable ſupplies from England, it was late in the ſeaſon before he could aſſemble an army of ſufficient ſtrength. But after the Mareſchal De Thermes was defeated, and Count Egmont's victorious troops were combined with thoſe under the Duke of Savoy, the armies of the two monarchs were nearly a match for one another, and conſiſted, each of them, of more than forty thouſand men.

1558.

Anxiety of Philip and Henry.

THEY came in ſight of each other upon the borders of Picardy, where the Duke of Savoy pitched his camp near Dourlens, and the Duke of Guiſe in the neighbourhood of Pierrepont. Both Kings diſcovered that anxiety which it was natural for them to feel in their preſent critical ſituation; and though they placed entire confidence in their generals, they could not be at eaſe while they remained at a diſtance from the ſcene of action, and therefore they repaired, each of them, to his reſpective camp. Many ſkirmiſhes happened with various ſucceſs. But it ſoon appeared that neither of the two monarchs was inclined to riſk a general engagement. The principal ſtrength of both armies conſiſted in their German forces, and it was apprehended that, if either of the two armies were defeated, the victors as well as the van-

BOOK II. vanquiſhed would be expoſed to the injuries and inſults of the foreign troops [b].

1558. They wiſh for peace.

BESIDES this conſideration, by which both parties were alike affected, there were other motives peculiar to each. Henry had, from his late misfortunes, learned a degree of caution which nature had not beſtowed on him. He dreaded the event of another battle, in which he muſt encounter the ſame generals by whom his troops had been already twice conquered; and conſidered that after his defeat at St. Quintin, it had been owing to the remiſſneſs or miſconduct of the enemy, more than to his own ſtrength, that his capital had not been taken, and his kingdom over-run. Philip, on the other hand, was, in all military affairs, cautious to exceſs; and choſe rather to accompliſh his deſigns by political negociation, in which he judged for himſelf, than by the operations of war, in which he depended on the abilities of others. Far from being elated with the ſucceſs which had hitherto accompanied his arms, he was now as deſirous of peace, as he had been before averſe to entering into the war. This is not to be aſcribed either to his moderation, or his freedom from the ambition of extending his power and territories,

[b] Meteren, L. Guicciardini, lib. iii.

No

No prince ever gave more convincing proofs of his being actuated by that ambition; but having, as was juſt now hinted, found that his moſt vigorous exertions had been neceſſary to aſſemble the forces which he had brought into the field; he dreaded, that, in caſe his preſent army were defeated, the difficulty of raiſing another would be inſurmountable[c]. His arms, indeed, had hitherto been crowned with victory; but none of his generals had entered the liſts on equal terms with the Duke of Guiſe; and he was juſtly apprehenſive with regard to the iſſue of a battle in which he muſt contend with a general ſo highly celebrated for his military genius, and whoſe enterpriſes had been ſo often accompanied with ſucceſs.

BOOK II. 1558.

THESE conſiderations derived additional force from Philip's extreme impatience to return to Spain; for which, in preference to his other dominions, he diſcovered, through his whole reign, a warm and partial affection. And his deſire of going thither was increaſed by accounts which he received at this time, that the opinions of the Proteſtants had made their way into that kingdom. He dreaded the propagation of theſe opinions, and reſolved, as ſoon as poſſible, to embrace this opportunity in

[c] Carte ſays, he received no leſs than three millions of gold during this war, from Peru; p. 343.

BOOK II. 1558.

his native country, in teſtifying his zeal for the Catholic faith, by ſhewing, that he would treat thoſe who oppoſed it, without mercy, in whatever part of his dominions they ſhould be found.

Negociations for peace.

SUCH were the motives which made the contending monarchs ſo deſirous to put a period to the war. A negociation had been begun for this purpoſe in the month of Auguſt, by the Conſtable Montmorenci, and William the Firſt, Prince of Orange. Montmorenci, who beheld with much anxiety the exaltation of the family of Guiſe, had borne his captivity with great impatience; and, in order to obtain his liberty, had exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in removing every obſtacle to the eſtabliſhment of peace. He was permitted to go to Paris on his parole, to treat in perſon with the King. A marriage was concluded about that time between his ſon and a grand-daughter of the Ducheſs of Valentinois. And by this event, joined to the King's habitual attachment to him, he recovered all his wonted influence; and eaſily perſuaded Henry to conſent to ſuch terms of accommodation as it was not likely that Philip would reject.

PLENIPOTENTIARIES were ſoon afterwards named by both Princes, and a congreſs, for diſcuſſing their reſpective claims, appointed

to

to be held at the Abbey of Cercamps, not far from the place where the armies were encamped. The Duke of Alva, the Prince of Orange, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, Granvelle Biſhop of Arras, and Vigilius, preſident of the council of ſtate at Bruſſels, were nominated by Philip; and by Henry, the Conſtable himſelf was named, the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Mareſchal of St. André Morvilliers Biſhop of Orange, and Aubeſpine the ſecretary of ſtate. The Ducheſs of Lorrain, whom it highly imported, on account of the vicinity of her dominions, that the two Kings ſhould put an end to the war, acted with great aſſiduity the part of mediator between them. BOOK II. 1558.

THE conferences, which were opened in October, were ſoon afterwards interrupted by the death of Mary Queen of England, who ended her ſhort inglorious reign on the ſeventeenth of November following. But Elizabeth renewed the powers of the Engliſh commiſſioners, and the congreſs was reſumed in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine, at Chateau Cambreſis [d]. 1559.

IN removing ſo many grounds of difference as ſubſiſted between Philip and Henry, the plenipotentiaries encountered many difficulties; but the zeal and activity of the Con-

[d] Forbes's Full View, p. 1.

ſtable,

BOOK II. 1559.

ſtable, added to the unlimited influence which he had acquired over his maſter, ſurmounted every obſtacle, and ſoon brought the treaty, ſo far as Philip, Henry, and the Duke of Savoy were concerned, to the deſired concluſion. Nothing retarded the ſigning of it, but the determined obſtinacy of the French commiſſioners in refuſing to reſtore Calais to the Queen of England; who, on the other hand, declared, that ſhe would not lay down her arms unleſs that conqueſt were reſtored. Philip thought himſelf bound in honour to ſupport the claim of Elizabeth; ſince it was entirely on his account that the Engliſh nation had engaged in the war, and incurred the loſs of the place in queſtion. In a political view, likewiſe, he was deſirous that Calais ſhould be reſtored. He conſidered, that, in ſome future period, he might derive advantage, as his father had ſometimes done, from that facility which the poſſeſſion of Calais gave the Engliſh of invading France.

But the zeal which Philip diſcovered on this occaſion in behalf of Elizabeth, aroſe principally from a very different motive. By Mary's death, his connexion with England had lately been diſſolved, and he had formed the ſcheme of renewing it, by marrying Elizabeth. The Duke of Feria, his ambaſſador at London, was ordered to propoſe the marriage,

riage, and at the ſame time to acquaint the Queen, that his maſter would procure a diſpenſation for it from the Pope. BOOK II. 1559.

ELIZABETH had many motives to deter her from liſtening to this propoſal. Philip's imperious temper would alone have been a ſufficient reaſon for rejecting it. Beſides this, ſhe knew well what apprehenſions her ſiſter's marriage had occaſioned among the Engliſh, with regard to their liberty and independence; and that her own popularity was greatly owing to the univerſal joy which their deliverance from theſe apprehenſions had excited. She conſidered that her marriage with Philip would be liable to the ſame objection as that of her father with Catharine of Arragon; and that her accepting of the Pope's diſpenſation would be in effect to acknowledge that her mother's marriage was unlawful and ſhe herſelf illegitimate. By doing this ſhe might ſecure to herſelf the protection of Spain, and thereby hold a precarious and dependent authority during Philip's life; but ſhe would forfeit for ever the favour of her Proteſtant ſubjects, who alone were ſincerely attached to her perſon and government; while ſhe would throw herſelf on the mercy of the Catholics; who, conſidering her as an uſurper, would, on the firſt favourable opportunity of aſſerting the title of the Queen of Scotland,

BOOK II. Scotland, think it their duty to deprive her of her crown.

1559.

WHILE, for theſe reaſons, Elizabeth was unalterably determined not to accept of Philip for a huſband, ſhe thought it prudent for ſome time to conceal her intention; and ſhe returned ſuch an ambiguous, but obliging anſwer to his ambaſſador, that Philip flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs, and actually took ſome ſteps to procure a diſpenſation. As long as there remained any foundation for theſe hopes, he appeared extremely zealous for the reſtitution of Calais. But when Elizabeth, finding herſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, ventured to introduce certain alterations in religion, which diſcovered her reſolution to aboliſh popery in her dominions, Philip conſidered this part of her conduct as a ſufficient indication of her intentions with regard to him: That zeal with which he had at firſt eſpouſed her intereſt, began to abate; and the Engliſh plenipotentaries dreaded that, without regard to the claim of their miſtreſs, he would not delay much longer to put the finiſhing hand to his treaty with the King of France [c].

ELIZA-

[c] If it is likewiſe true, that he made an offer to Elizabeth, of continuing the war till ſhe ſhould recover what ſhe had loſt,

ELIZABETH at length perceived that it was in vain to hope for recovering Calais by treaty; and as the ſituation of her affairs at home rendered it highly inexpedient to employ force, ſhe wiſely reſolved to give it up on the following conditions: that Henry ſhould reſtore it before the end of eight years, or pay 500,000 crowns; that foreign merchants, not ſubjects of France, ſhould give ſecurity for the money; that hoſtages ſhould be delivered, till that ſecurity were procured; and that, whether the money were paid or not, Elizabeth's claim ſhould remain valid, unleſs within the time ſpecified, ſhe ſhould commit hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of the French King. 1559.

Peace concluded.

TOWARDS his other allies, Philip's conduct was perfectly conformable to the dictates of the ſtricteſt honour. He procured the reſtitution of Montferrat to the Duke of Mantua; of Bouillon to the Biſhop of Liege; of the iſle of Corſica to the Genoeſe; and of all the towns which the French had ſeized in

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loſt, upon condition that ſhe too would engage to carry it on for a certain term of years; it would then ſeem, that he gave little reaſon for accuſing him, as ſome authors have done, of having acted ungenerouſly towards his Engliſh allies. But as this circumſtance is omitted by the principal hiſtorians, and contradicts what is ſaid of his coldneſs with regard to the intereſt of Elizabeth, I have not ventured to advance it as an undoubted fact. Burnet, part ii. p. 383.

Savoy;

BOOK II. 1559.

Savoy, Piedmont, and Breſſe, to the Duke of Savoy. This peace was advantageous to himſelf, as well as to the princes in alliance with him. He recovered Thionville, Marienburgh, Montmedi, and all the other places which had been taken by the French generals during the war, and acquired the ſovereignty of the county of Charolois[f].

In return for the many conceſſions made by Henry, that monarch received no other compenſation but St. Quintin, and the two unimportant towns of Ham and Catelet. While his people, therefore, rejoiced at the concluſion of the war, which had ſometimes excited in their minds the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, they complained bitterly of the inequality of the terms of peace, and were highly exaſperated againſt the Conſtable; who, in order to accompliſh his private views, had abuſed the too eaſy temper of his maſter, and made a ſacrifice of the intereſts and the honour of France. Montmorenci durſt not have counſelled Henry to conſent to ſuch diſadvantageous terms, had he not deviſed the expedient of giving Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, in marriage to Philip, and Margaret his ſiſter, to the Duke of Savoy. Theſe marriages ſerved, in ſome meaſure, as an

[f] Meteren, p. 24. Guicciardini, lib. iii.

excuſe

excuſe for the ample conceſſions made to these two princes; ſince honourable ſettlements were thereby obtained for the daughter and ſiſter of the King. BOOK II. 1559.

Amidst that attention which Philip and Henry beſtowed, in this treaty, on their political and civil intereſts, religion was not forgotten. They bound themſelves mutually to maintain the Catholic faith in their dominions; and to procure[g] the convocation of a general council, for ſuppreſſing hereſy, and reſtoring tranquillity to the church.

Death of Henry.

It is not to be doubted that Henry would have fulfilled this article of the treaty with the ſame exactneſs which he obſerved in executing the other articles; but a ſudden period was put to his life, in a few months after the peace was ſigned, by an accident which happened in the time of the rejoicings celebrated on account of his ſiſter's marriage. Having entered the liſts at a tournament with the Count of Montgomery, captain of his guards, the Count's lance broke on Henry's corſlet, and a ſplinter of it having pierced his right eye, inflicted a wound, of which he died in a few days, at the age of forty.

[g] Padre Paolo Hiſt. lib. v.

This

BOOK II. 1559.

THIS melancholy event made no [illegible] with reſpect to the treaty of peace. The Duke of Alva had ſome time before eſpouſed Elizabeth, in his maſter's name; and Margaret's marriage with Emanuel was celebrated privately in a chapel of the palace.

State of France.

THE courtiers and the people of France were affected variouſly by Henry's death. The Conſtable loſt thereby all the fruits of his late intrigues, and was ſoon afterwards obliged to retire from court, and to reſign that power, which he had ſhewn himſelf ſo ſolicitous to attain, into the hands of his enemies.

Francis II.

THE young King, Francis the Second, a prince equally weak in body and in mind, was entirely governed by his wife, the celebrated Mary Queen of Scots; who was blindly devoted to her uncles, the Cardinal of Lorrain and the Duke of Guiſe. Theſe two men engroſſed almoſt the whole adminiſtration of the kingdom; admitting only the Queen-mother to a ſhare of it, from their knowledge of her ambitious, intriguing ſpirit, and the dread which they entertained of her influence, as a mother, over the feeble mind of Francis. They ſhewed no moderation in the exerciſe of the power which they had uſurped; but ſeized on every advantage for themſelves,

and laid hold of every opportunity to humble and mortify their adverſaries. The princes of the blood, with Lewis Prince of Condé at their head, bore with extreme impatience the inſignificance to which they were reduced; and reſolved to embrace the firſt occaſion that ſhould offer, to vindicate their right to that ſhare in the management of affairs, to which they thought themſelves entitled by their birth, and the ancient practice of the realm [1]. BOOK II. 1559.

While the great men in France were thus animated againſt each other by conſiderations of a political nature, the people were violently agitated, and their minds inflamed by religious controverſies. Under the reign of Henry, the Calviniſts had ſuffered the moſt cruel perſecution; yet they had multiplied exceedingly during that period in every quarter of the kingdom. The Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal of Lorrain kept alive the flames of perſecution againſt them, and on all occaſions appeared intent on their deſtruction. This alone would have determined the Prince of Condé and his adherents to eſpouſe the Proteſtant cauſe; for even although we ſhould not believe that the chiefs in either party were ſincere in their religious profeſſion, yet it

[1] Davila, Caſtelnau ab initio, & Additions aux Memoires de Caſtelnau.

BOOK II. 1559.

cannot be ſuppoſed they would have failed to embrace ſo ſpecious a pretext as the differences in religion afforded them to palliate their conduct. The Prince of Condé would inſtantly have had recourſe to arms, if the Admiral, more prudent and ſagacious, had not prevailed on him to ſuſpend his reſolution till a more favourable juncture; but it was impoſſible that paſſions ſo violent as thoſe by which both parties were impelled, could be kept long under reſtraint; and to every perſon capable of reflecting on what he ſaw paſſing before him, it was apparent that the nation was upon the eve of a civil war.

FRANCE has in no period produced a more remarkable aſſemblage of great men than in the preſent and the ſucceeding reigns; and had there been a prince upon the throne poſſeſſed of abilities ſufficient to controul their inordinate ambition, the French nation might have much ſooner reached that degree of greatneſs and proſperity which it attained towards the concluſion of the following century: but this mighty kingdom, poſſeſſed of every advantage which nature beſtows, became a ſcene of devaſtation and miſery for almoſt forty years, through the miſapplication of thoſe very talents, which, if they had been properly employed, would have rendered it proſperous and happy.

NOTHING

NOTHING could be more desirable to Philip than this confusion, and the debility consequent upon it, in that nation, from which alone he had reason to expect opposition to his designs. It left him at liberty to pursue whatever measures he should think proper for the confirmation and increase of his power in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands; and it gave no small reason to the other European powers to apprehend, that France itself would fall under the Spanish yoke. 1559.

State of Italy.

IN Italy the state of affairs was no less favourable to Philip's views, than in France. He was now the sole and undisputed sovereign of the dutchy of Milan, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. His inveterate enemy, Paul the Fourth, was lately dead; and Pius the Fourth, who was no less devoted to his interest than Paul had been adverse, was raised to the papal throne. The republic of Genoa, the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua, Tuscany, and Parma, were his allies, whom he had bound to his interest by the strongest ties; the three first, by procuring for them the restitution of their dominions from the French King; the fourth, by granting him the investiture of Sienna; and the last, by ceding to him the city of Placentia and its territory.

BOOK II. 1559.

AFTER the concluſion of the peace, nothing remained to render Philip uneaſy, either in his own dominions, or in the neighbouring kingdoms, but the progreſs which the reformers had made, and were ſtill making, in almoſt every country in Europe. From Germany and Switzerland, where the Reformation took its riſe, it had ſpread with the moſt aſtoniſhing rapidity. It had become the eſtabliſhed religion, not only in ſeveral of the conſiderable provinces and free cities in Germany and the cantons in Switzerland, but likewiſe in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Sweden, and Denmark; and in ſome of thoſe ſtates where the ancient religion ſtill maintained its ground, the Proteſtants were grown ſo numerous as to be extremely formidable to their opponents.

FROM the conſtant intercourſe which ſubſiſts between Germany and the Netherlands, it was impoſſible but the new opinions muſt have been early propagated from the former to the latter; and accordingly, in the month of May 1521, the Emperor Charles had publiſhed an edict, in which all the penalties of high treaſon were pronounced againſt thoſe who ſhould be found guilty of holding any of Luther's tenets; or of republiſhing or vending any books written by him or his followers. In the execution of this edict, which Charles

from

from time to time renewed, all the fury of perſecution was exerciſed; and it is affirmed by ſeveral cotemporary hiſtorians, that during the reign of Charles fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of the Low Countries were put to death on account of their religious principles. Theſe principles, however, far from being extirpated, were more and more diffuſed in the midſt of thoſe ſeverities which were employed to ſuppreſs them. 1559.

PHILIP was not ignorant of the progreſs which they had made; and it gave him the greater uneaſineſs, becauſe, being exceedingly deſirous of ſetting out for Spain, he would be obliged to commit the buſineſs of extirpating hereſy from the Netherlands to others, whom he could not ſuppoſe poſſeſſed of the ſame fervent zeal againſt it, of which he himſelf was conſcious. In order to prevent as much as poſſible the inconveniences which might ariſe from his abſence, he had gone from his camp at Dourlens to Bruſſels, and had been employed during the winter ſeaſon in ſettling the government of the provinces.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK III.

THE provinces, which, on account of their situation, are called the Netherlands, were long governed by their reſpective princes, under the titles of Dukes, Marquiſſes, or Counts. Theſe princes were for many years engaged in perpetual wars with the neighbouring powers, or with one another; and, as they had frequent occaſions, during theſe wars, to have recourſe to the people for ſupplies, the cities, the nobles, and eccleſiaſtics, acquired, in return, ſeveral rights and privileges, by which the provinces partook more of the nature of republics, than of regal governments. The ſupreme authority was lodged in the aſſembly of the States, which had the

BOOK III.

1559.

Ancient ſtate of the Netherlands.

BOOK III. 1559.

power of meeting as often as the members thought expedient. And without this conſent of that aſſembly, no war could be undertaken, no taxes could be impoſed, no new laws enacted, no change made in the current coin, and no foreigners admitted into any branch of the adminiſtration. The ſovereignty deſcended according to the ordinary laws of hereditary ſucceſſion; but no prince was allowed to enter upon the exerciſe of it, till he had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve and maintain the fundamental laws[a].

In this ſituation theſe provinces remained for ſeveral ages; till by the failure of the male line in ſome of the reigning families, by intermarriages, and by conqueſts, they fell under the dominion of the Houſe of Burgundy. After this event they ſtill continued to enjoy their ancient privileges, and to be governed according to their own laws; with this difference only, that whereas all criminal and civil cauſes had been formerly determined, in the laſt reſort, by the councils of the ſeveral provinces, it was eſtabliſhed, that parties might appeal from theſe to the tribunal of Mechlin; which was inſtituted in order to unite the provinces more cloſely, and to give them more the appearance of one ſtate.

[a] Grotius de Antiq. Repub. Batav. cap. 5.

UNDER

UNDER the adminiſtration of the Burgundian princes, and even long before their acceſſion to the ſovereignty, trade and manufactures flouriſhed in the Netherlands more than in any other European ſtate. No city in thoſe days, except Venice, poſſeſſed ſuch extenſive commerce as Antwerp. It was the ſtaple, or great mart of all the northern nations. Bruges was little inferior. Arras was famous for tapeſtries, which ſtill retain the name of that place. In the city of Ghent there were many thouſand artificers employed in the woollen manufacture, long before the art was known to the Engliſh, from whom the wool was purchaſed by the induſtrious Flemings.

1559. Proſperity of the provinces.

FOR this proſperity the inhabitants of the Netherlands were, in a great meaſure, indebted to the nature and ſituation of their country; which, as it lies in the centre of Europe, commanding the entrance and navigation of ſeveral of the great rivers of Germany, and is almoſt every where interſected by theſe rivers, or by canals and branches of the ſea, is admirably fitted both for foreign and domeſtic or inland trade. This ſingular advantage, however, could not have enabled the Flemings to leave the other European nations ſo far behind them, if the form of their civil government had not been peculiarly favour-

Cauſes of it.

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favourable to their exertions. The greateſt advantages which nature affords for improvement in the arts of life, may be rendered uſeleſs to the people who poſſeſs them, by an injudicious, or tyrannical and oppreſſive exerciſe of the civil power. And univerſal experience proves, how vain it is to expect that men will apply themſelves with vigour to commercial purſuits, where their perſons are inſecure, or where the fruits of their induſtry may be ſeized by the rapacious hand of a deſpotic prince. But happily for the inhabitants of the Low Countries, the ſovereigns of the ſeveral provinces (unable, perhaps, from the ſmall extent of their dominions, to execute any plan of tyranny againſt the people) were, at a very early period, induced to give their conſent and ſanction to the above-mentioned ſyſtem of fundamental laws; by which, although their prerogative was abridged, yet their power and reſources were greatly augmented, through that proſperity which their moderate government had enabled their ſubjects to attain.

THE ſovereignty of theſe flouriſhing provinces paſſed from the family of Burgundy into that of Auſtria, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, and ſole heireſs of his dominions, with Maximilian, ſon of Frederic the Third, Emperor of Germany.

ma. y. This marriage was ſet on foot and concluded by the Flemings themſelves, who, agreeably to their free maxims of government, aſſumed the direction of the conduct of their princes in this matter, which ſo nearly concerned their proſperity and ſafety. BOOK III. 1559.

Lewis the Eleventh of France had demanded her for his ſon the Dauphin; whilſt he moſt impolitically gave offence to the States, by ſeizing upon Burgundy and Picardy as fiefs of the kingdom of France. This imprudent ſtep, and the death of the Biſhop of Liege, uncle of Mary, and a partizan of Lewis, determined the Flemings in their choice. They judged wiſely, that their liberty would be ſafer in the hands of Maximilian, whoſe hereditary dominions were ſmall, and lay at a diſtance from them, than in thoſe of a neighbouring prince ſo powerful as Lewis, who, in all his conduct, had diſcovered ſo much injuſtice and rapacity.

The Flemings ſhewed the ſame laudable jealouſy of their privileges after Maximilian's marriage with their Princeſs, which had influenced them in their choice of him for her huſband. About four years after her marriage, Mary died of a bruiſe which ſhe received by a fall from horſeback, when ſhe was big with child. Maximilian, under the name

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name of tutor to his ſon Philip, aſſumed the reins of government. The Flemings conſidered his conduct as an encroachment on their rights, and refuſed to acknowledge his authority, till the States had ordained that he ſhould be admitted as governor, only for a limited time, and upon conditions which they required he ſhould take an oath to fulfil.

He did not obſerve theſe conditions ſo exactly as they expected. They complained of his conferring offices upon Burgundians and Germans. They were grievouſly offended with him for introducing foreign troops into the provinces, and apprehended that he had formed a deſign againſt their liberty. After he was elected King of the Romans, their ſuſpicions aroſe to ſo great a height, that, upon his entering the city of Bruges with a numerous train of attendants, the inhabitants ran to arms, ſurrounded him in the market-place, ſeized his perſon, and confined him in the caſtle, where they kept him priſoner for ſeveral months. The Pope and Emperor interpoſed in his behalf, but could not obtain his liberty, till he had given ſecurity with regard to the ſeveral particulars on account of which they had taken offence.

Charles V.

Of the ſame jealous attention to their liberty the Flemings gave proofs during the

adminiſtration of Maximilian's ſucceſſors. Under that of his grandſon Charles V. they had real ground of uneaſineſs. Charles might have eaſily ſubdued them, if he had been inclined to uſe his power ſo ungenerouſly, and his arbitrary temper had ſufficiently appeared in his government of Spain and Germany; in both which countries he had trampled on all thoſe rights of the people, which had been long eſteemed the moſt inviolable. On ſeveral occaſions he had introduced foreign troops into the Low Countries; and it has been aſſerted [b], that he once deliberated whether he ſhould employ them in eſtabliſhing in the provinces the ſame ſort of arbitrary government which ſubſiſted in his Spaniſh and Italian dominions.

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His popularity.

BUT Charles was born in the Netherlands, and had paſſed there the pleaſanteſt of his younger days. He loved the people, and was fond of their manners; which reſembled his own, and were not ſo reſerved and ſtately as thoſe of the Spaniards. From taſte and early attachment he kept them always about his perſon, and had beſtowed on them the moſt important offices in his dominions. To his preceptor, Adrian of Utrecht, who, through his intereſt, was afterwards advanced to the

[b] Grotius, p. 6.

papacy,

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papacy, he committed the government of Spain: and Charles de La[illegible], whom he appointed Viceroy of Naples, was intruſted with the management of his affairs in Italy for ſeveral years, with unlimited authority. In all the wars which he carried on in Germany, and on the frontiers of France, he placed a particular confidence in his Flemiſh troops; uſed the people when he reſided among them, with the moſt courteous familiarity, and baniſhed from his intercourſe with them that form and ceremony which renders it ſo difficult for princes either to know that they are beloved, or to ſhow that they deſerve it [c].

THE Flemings entertained a grateful ſenſe of the kindneſs with which he treated them. If we except the inſurrection of the people of Ghent, there happened almoſt no diſturbance in the Netherlands during his reign. The States aſſiſted him liberally in defraying the expence of thoſe wars in which he was almoſt continually engaged, and diſcovered, at all times, a warm attachment to his perſon.

CHARLES would gladly have tranſmitted to his ſon the affection which he bore towards his Flemiſh ſubjects; and for this purpoſe he had, as above related, brought him to Flanders in

[c] Bentivoglio, p. 4.

his

his youth, in order to reconcile him to the manners and cuſtoms of the people. And afterwards, when he himſelf had reſolved to retire from the world, and to leave the government of his dominions in the hands of Philip, he exhorted him, with much earneſtneſs, to cultivate the affections of the Flemings, and to govern them according to thoſe laws to which they had been ſo long accuſtomed, and were ſo ſtrongly attached.

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Of Philip. His unpopular behaviour.

BUT Philip could not enter into his father's views. He had never made any conſiderable ſtay in the Netherlands; and could not be fond of a people whoſe manners were ſo different from his own. In Spain, where he received his education, he had been taught the moſt ſuperſtitious reverence for the Holy See, and had imbibed the moſt extravagant ideas of the extent of regal authority. Charles was not, in reality, leſs fond of power; but in him ambition was, in ſome meaſure, tempered and corrected by his acquaintance with the world; whereas, in Philip, it was perverted and inflamed by the ſentiments of an illiberal, cruel, gloomy ſuperſtition.

The Flemings jealous of him.

THE Flemings had long perceived and lamented the difference between the character of their late, and that of their preſent ſove-

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reign. Philip had taken the usual oath, by which he bound himself to maintain their privileges; and had made them the strongest professions of regard and affection. But they judged of his disposition towards them from his conduct, rather than from his oath or his professions. They were not admitted, whilst he lived amongst them, to any share of his trust and confidence; and, in violation of their fundamental laws, he committed the administration of the most important branches of government to the Bishop of Arras, a Burgundian; or to his Spanish ministers, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, Prince of Eboli, and the Dukes of Feria and Alva; whom the Flemings considered as enemies to their nation, and strenuous abettors of that despotic power, to which, from the beginning of Philip's reign, they had suspected that he aspired.

The edicts against the protestants.

It was not long before he gave them convincing proof how well grounded their fears were with regard to his intentions, by the measures which he employed for extinguishing the new opinions in religion. These opinions had been of late diffused through every corner of the Netherlands; having been imported thither, partly by foreign merchants who came to reside there; and partly by the Swiss and German troops, whom both Charles and Philip had employed in their wars against France; but chiefly

chiefly by the Engliſh, French, and German Proteſtants, who had fled from the perſecutions which were carried on againſt them in their native countries. BOOK III. 1559.

CHARLES had, as mentioned in the preceding book, ſhewn the ſame inclination to extirpate the reformed religion in the Netherlands, which he had diſcovered in Germany; and had, for this purpoſe, publiſhed ſeveral edicts againſt the Proteſtants; many of whom had ſuffered the moſt cruel death[d].

GREAT numbers had begun to leave the provinces, and to tranſport their families and effects to the neighbouring ſtates. Charles was moved with the repreſentation which he received of this event, from the Regent his ſiſter, the Queen Dowager of Hungary. He felt for the calamities of the people, and he dreaded the conſequences of depopulating a country from which he had often received the moſt effectual aſſiſtance and ſupport.

BUT theſe conſiderations had no degree of influence on Philip. He republiſhed the

[d] It is almoſt incredible that the number of thoſe who ſuffered could amount to 50,000, yet this is affirmed by ſeveral hiſtorians. Meteren calls the number 50,000. Grotius, p. 12. calls it 100,000. F. Paul, lib. v. calls it 50,000.

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In theſe edicts it was enacted, that all perſons who held any erroneous opinion ſhould be deprived of their offices, and degraded from their rank. It was ordained, that whoever ſhould be convicted of having taught heretical doctrines, or of having been preſent at the religious meetings of hereties, ſhould, if they were men, be put to death by the ſword; and if women, be buried alive. Such were the puniſhments denounced even againſt thoſe who repented of their errors and forſook them; while all who perſiſted in them were condemned to the flames. And even thoſe who afforded ſhelter to heretics in their houſes, or who omitted to give information againſt them, were ſubjected to the ſame penalties as heretics themſelves.

The Inquiſition.

Philip was not ſatisfied with publiſhing and executing theſe cruel edicts. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed a particular tribunal for the extirpation of hereſy, which, although it was not called by the name Inquiſition, had all the eſſentials of that iniquitous inſtitution. Perſons were committed to priſon upon bare ſuſpicion, and put to the torture on the ſlighteſt evidence. The accuſed were not confronted with their accuſers,

cutors, or made acquainted with the crimes for which they ſuffered. The civil judges were not allowed to take any further concern in proſecutions for hereſy, than to execute the ſentences which the inquiſitors had pronounced. The poſſeſſions of the ſufferers were confiſcated; and informers were encouraged, by an aſſurance of impunity in caſe they themſelves were guilty, and by the promiſe of rewards[c]. BOOK III. 1559.

It is not ſurpriſing, that the eſtabliſhment of this arbitrary tribunal ſhould have occaſioned diſquietude in the Netherlands. It had created diſturbance even in Spain and Italy, where the people could not boaſt ſo much as the Flemings of their civil rights; and had been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by many who were ſincerely attached to the Catholic religion. In the Flemings it excited the moſt frightful apprehenſions. They conſidered it as utterly ſubverſive of their liberty. They dreaded the ruin of their commerce; which could not ſubſiſt unleſs the foreign merchants, many of whom were Proteſtants, could reſide among them with ſafety. The new opinions had been propagated throughout all the provinces, and men knew not how far the inquiſitors might extend their power, or how great a number

[c] Grotius, Annales, lib. i.

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might be found liable to punishments that were denounced, not only againſt heretics themſelves, but againſt all thoſe who were ſuſpected to befriend them.

New erection of biſhoprics.

To theſe cauſes of diſcontent Philip added another, by increaſing the number of biſhoprics from five to ſeventeen, the number of the provinces. This meaſure, which would not at any other time have given much offence, was in the preſent juncture univerſally diſagreeable. Granville, Biſhop of Arras, was the chief adviſer of it; not did he and the King's other counſellors ſcruple to acknowledge, that their intention in promoting it, was to have at all times a ſufficient number of perſons in the Netherlands, upon whoſe zeal the King could rely for a vigorous execution of the edicts.

The new biſhops were therefore conſidered as ſo many new inquiſitors. Their creation was regarded as an incroachment on the privileges of the provinces, and a violation, on the part of the King, of the oath which he had taken at his acceſſion, to preſerve the church in the condition in which he found it. The principal nobility were particularly averſe to this innovation, becauſe the number of the counſellors of ſtate was thereby greatly augmented, and conſequently the influence of the ancient members of the council was impaired, and

and the balance of power thrown into the hands of the clergy; who, they doubted not, would on all occaſions ſhew themſelves ready to ſupport the arbitrary meaſures of the ſovereign. But no ſect of men exclaimed ſo loudly as the Monks and Abbots, whoſe oppoſition was inflamed by motives both of ambition and intereſt. For beſides that they would be obliged to yield the precedency to the biſhops, and have much leſs weight than hitherto in the aſſemblies of the States, it was out of their revenues that the new biſhoprics were to be endowed. They were therefore highly incenſed. They laboured to connect their private intereſt with that of the public; and repreſented the new erection as no leſs pernicious to the country in general, than it was to their order in particular [f].

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Besides the grievances enumerated, the Flemings complained bitterly, that in the midſt of peace the provinces were filled with Spaniſh ſoldiers. They had ever eſteemed it one of their moſt valuable privileges, that, according to their fundamental laws, no foreign troops could be brought into the Netherlands. Charles indeed had often introduced them in the courſe of his wars with France, and with the Proteſtants in Germany. But the Flem-

Spaniſh troops in the Netherlands.

[f] Bentivoglio, lib. i.

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ings had been dazzled with the pomp which generally attended that monarch's arms, and had not entertained the ſame jealouſy of his intentions as of thoſe of Philip; who, they could not help thinking, had formed a deſign to reduce them under a deſpotic government; and had, with this view, deferred ſo long the diſmiſſion of his Spaniſh troops. Their diſcontent was greatly increaſed by the inſolent and rapacious behaviour of theſe troops; which in Zealand was ſo intolerable, that the people actually refuſed to work at their dykes, ſaying, that they choſe rather to be ſwallowed up by the ocean, than to remain a prey to the cruelty and avarice of the Spaniſh ſoldiers[g].

SUCH was the ſtate of affairs, and ſuch the temper of the people, when Philip, intending to ſet out for Spain, was deliberating concerning a proper perſon to whom he might commit the government of the Netherlands.

The Ducheſs of Parma appointed Regent.

He heſitated for ſome time between Chriſtina the Ducheſs of Lorrain, his couſin, and Margaret Ducheſs of Parma, a natural daughter of the late Emperor. The former had diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her prudent conduct in the government of Lorrain after her

[g] Theſe ſoldiers were not removed till the year following, when Philip had occaſion for them elſewhere. Reidanus, p. 5. Meurſii Auriacus, near the beginning.

huſband's

husband's death, and had lately acquired considerable reputation by her negociations in the treaty of peace at Chateau-Cambresis. From the vicinity of Lorrain to the Low Countries, the Flemings were well acquainted with her character; and, as they had groaned under the burden of the French war, and had now begun to taste, with gratitude, the fruits of that peace which Christina's wisdom had contributed to procure for them, they were exceedingly desirous that the government of the provinces should be left in her hands. But Philip had good reason for the preference which he gave to the Duchess of Parma. The Dukes of Lorrain were, from their situation, in some measure dependent upon the crown of France; whereas the duchy of Parma was surrounded with Philip's Italian dominions; and the Duke and Duchess were willing to send their son, the celebrated Alexander Farnese Prince of Parma, to the court of Spain; on pretence of being educated there, but, in truth, as a pledge of that implicit obedience which the Duchess engaged to yield to the King's injunctions in her government of the provinces [h].

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As Philip did not intend to return soon to the Netherlands, he thought proper, before his departure, to summon a convention of the

[h] Bentivoglio.

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States; which was accordingly held in Ghent. He was preſent himſelf, accompanied by the new Regent, at the firſt opening of that aſſembly; but as he could not ſpeak the language of the country, he employed the Biſhop of Arras to addreſs the deputies in his name.

The Biſhop of Arras's ſpeech to the States.

THE Biſhop began his ſpeech with informing them of the King's reſolution of going to Spain, and the reaſons which rendered his journey thither neceſſary. He expatiated on the affection which Philip bore towards his Flemiſh ſubjects; to whom his family had been ſo much indebted for that aſcendant and influence, which had given them poſſeſſion of ſuch extenſive territories. His affairs in Spain, he hoped, would not detain him long; but, in caſe they ſhould, he promiſed to ſend his ſon to reſide in the Netherlands. In the mean time he earneſtly exhorted the States to ſtudy to preſerve the public peace; and to this end he thought that nothing could conduce ſo much, as the extirpation of hereſy, which, whilſt it ſet men at variance with God, put arms into their hands againſt their civil ſovereign. They ought therefore zealouſly to maintain the purity of their ancient faith, and for this purpoſe, to execute with vigour the ſeveral edicts publiſhed for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. In this, and every other meaſure, he hoped that they would concur cheerfully with the

the Duchess of Parma, whom he had appointed Regent in his absence. He would leave the Netherlands, impressed with the deepest sense of that fidelity and affection which his subjects there had ever shewn him; and would, as soon as possible, remove the foreign troops, and deliver the people from every other burden which the exigency of his affairs had made it necessary to impose [k]. BOOK III. 1559.

The answer of the States to this speech contained the warmest sentiments of affection and loyalty. But, before the convention was dissolved, Philip perceived that the deputies were far from being satisfied with every part of his administration. They had expected that the troops would have been immediately transported to Spain, and could not discover any reason for keeping them longer in the Low Countries, but such as filled their minds with terror. Their suspicion that the Inquisition was about to be established in the Netherlands, excited the most disquieting apprehensions. There were some of the deputies, who scrupled not openly to remonstrate, That the Low Countries had never been accustomed to an institution of so much rigour and severity; That the people trembled at the very

[k] Bentivoglio, p. 9.

name

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name of the Inquiſition, and would fly to the remoteſt corners of the earth rather than ſubmit to it: That it was not by fire and ſword, but by the gentleſt and ſofteſt remedies, that the evil complained of muſt be cured: That as each individual had a habit or conſtitution of body peculiar to himſelf, ſo every nation had a peculiar temperament or character: That what might be ſuitable to Spain or Italy, would be extremely unfit for the Netherlands; and that, in general, the nations in the ſouthern parts of the world could live happily under a degree of reſtraint which would render the northern nations extremely miſerable [l].

Philip refuſes to gratify them.

THESE and ſuch other repreſentations were addreſſed to the King himſelf by ſome of the deputies, who endeavoured to perſuade him to annul, or at leaſt to moderate, the edicts. But on this head Philip was inexorable. And when one of his miniſters repreſented, that, by perſiſting in the execution of theſe edicts, he might kindle the ſeeds of rebellion, and thereby loſe the ſovereignty of the provinces; he replied, "That he had much rather be no King at all, than have heretics for his ſubjects [m]."

[l] Bentivoglio, lib. i.

[m] Chegli voleva piu toſto reſtar ſenza regni, che poſſedergli con hereſia. Bentivoglio, p. 10.

HIS

His religion, which was of all superſtitions the moſt intolerant; his temper of mind, which was naturally haughty and ſevere; his pride, which would have been wounded by yielding to what he had repeatedly declared he would never yield; his engagements with the Pope, and an oath which he had taken to devote his reign to the defence of the Popiſh faith and the extirpation of hereſy; above all, his thirſt for deſpotic power, with which he conſidered the liberties claimed in religious matters by the Proteſtants as utterly incompatible; all theſe cauſes united, rendered him deaf to the remonſtrances which were made to him, and fixed him unalterably in his reſolution to execute the edicts with the utmoſt rigour. He ſhewed himſelf equally inflexible with regard to the new biſhoprics; nor would he conſent at this time to withdraw the Spaniſh ſoldiers. In order, however, to leſſen the odium ariſing from his refuſal, he offered the command of theſe troops to the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont, the two ableſt and moſt popular noblemen in the Netherlands; the former of whom he had appointed governor of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht; and the latter of Artois and Flanders. Both of them declined accepting of the offer which was made to them, and had the courage to declare, that they conſidered the continuance of the troops in the

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Low

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Low Countries, after peace had been eſtabliſhed with France, as a violation of the fundamental laws of the conſtitution.

Count Egmont.

COUNT Egmont, deſcended from the Dukes of Guelderland, and one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen in the Netherlands, having lately gained immortal honour by the victories of St. Quintin and Gravelines, had juſt ground to expect the higheſt rewards in the power of Philip to beſtow.

William I. Prince of Orange.

THE Prince of Orange, ſo well known in hiſtory by the name of William the Firſt, was the repreſentative of the ancient and illuſtrious family of Naſſau in Germany. From his anceſtors, one of whom had been Emperor of Germany, he inherited ſeveral rich poſſeſſions in the Netherlands; and he had ſucceeded to the principality of Orange by the will of René Naſſau and Chalons, his couſin-german, in the year 1544. From that time the late Emperor had kept him perpetually about his perſon, and had early diſcovered in him all thoſe extraordinary talents which rendered him afterwards one of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages of the age. Both he and Count Egmont had aſpired to the Regency; and their declining to accept of the command of the Spaniſh troops was, by ſome, aſcribed to the chagrin occaſioned

ſioned by their diſappointment[a]. The Prince of Orange, after dropping his own pretenſions, had expreſſed his deſire to have the Regency beſtowed on the duchy of Lorrain; and this diſcovery of William's inclination is ſaid to have been a principal motive with Philip, and his Spaniſh counſellors, for conferring it on the Ducheſs of Parma. Nor were they ſatisfied with thwarting him in this. He had begun and made ſome progreſs in a treaty of marriage with one of the princeſſes of Lorrain. In this meaſure likewiſe they oppoſed him, from an apprehenſion, it was pretended, that ſo cloſe a connexion with a family of ſo great influence, and whoſe territories lay ſo near the Netherlands, would give him an acceſſion of power that might be dangerous in the hands of a perſon whoſe loyalty there was reaſon to ſuſpect. 1559.

Causes of Philip's alienation from him.

It does not however appear, that, before the aſſembly of the States, Philip had any juſt ground for his ſuſpicions of William's conduct; and there is only one circumſtance recorded to which they can be aſcribed. The Prince, having been ſent to France as an hoſtage for the execution of ſome articles of the peace of Chateau-Cambreſis, had, during his reſidence there, diſcovered a ſcheme formed by the

[a] Ferreras, tom. ix. Grotius, p. 4—9.

French

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French and the Spaniſh monarchs for the extirpation of the Proteſtants. This ſcheme he had communicated to ſuch of his friends in the Netherlands as had embraced the reformed religion, and from that time the King ceaſed to treat him with his wonted confidence [a].

But we find a ſtill more ſatisfactory account of Philip's alienation from the Prince, in the jealouſy of Granvelle and the Spaniſh miniſters. From his early youth William had been conſidered as a principal favourite of the late Emperor, who had on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed him with peculiar marks of his eſteem. Charles uſed to communicate to him his moſt ſecret counſels, and had been heard to declare, that the Prince, though ſcarcely arrived at the years of manhood, had often ſuggeſted expedients to him that were of great advantage to his affairs. William was in the twenty-third year of his age when Charles reſigned his dominions, yet he had already received ſeveral public proofs of the Emperor's attachment. Not to mention his making choice of him to ſupport him in that auguſt aſſembly in which he reſigned his dominions, or his beſtowing on him, in preference to his other courtiers, the honour of carrying the Imperial crown to his brother Ferdinand; he had appointed him commander

[a] Bentivoglio, p. 6. Thuanus, tom. i. lib. xxii. ſect. 10.

in

in chief of his army, in the abſence of the Duke of Savoy, when the Prince was only two and twenty years old. Againſt this meaſure all his counſellors had remonſtrated, and had repreſented to him the ſuperior character of the French generals, the Duke de Nevers, and the Admiral de Coligni. But Charles adhered to his choice, and had no reaſon afterwards to repent of it. William not only ſaved the troops while they were under his command from ſuſtaining any misfortune or calamity, but fortified Charlemont and Philipville, and thereby ſecured the frontier of the Netherlands, in ſpite of the moſt vigorous efforts which the enemy could make to prevent him. This uncommon degree of attachment that was ſhewn him by the father, was the real cauſe of the coldneſs with which he was treated by the ſon. Granvelle and the Spaniſh miniſters were envious of his riſing greatneſs, and took every opportunity to inſpire Philip with ſuſpicions of his deſigns, and an averſion to his character. Philip was confirmed in his ſuſpicions by William's refuſing to accept of the command of the troops; and ſaw that neither he, nor Count Egmont, who likewiſe declined accepting it, were perſons on whom he could depend for executing the plan which he had formed for eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm in the provinces.

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He left them, however, in poſſeſſion of the ſeveral governments to which they had been appointed, and ſtill allowed them to hold their places as formerly in the council of State. Their merit, he was ſenſible, intitled them to all the honours and offices which they enjoyed. He knew how extenſive their influence was among the people; and he was conſcious they had been guilty of nothing that could juſtify him for removing them from their employments; ſince even when their conduct had offended him the moſt, they had only exerciſed thoſe rights, which, by the fundamental laws of the country, belonged to every inhabitant of the Netherlands.

But although Philip did not think proper to diſmiſs them from his ſervice, he reſolved that they ſhould not have power to fruſtrate his intentions. And for this purpoſe he left, for principal counſellor to the Regent, the Biſhop of Arras, whoſe views were entirely co-incident with his own, and in whom, therefore, the Ducheſs of Parma was deſired to repoſe unlimited confidence.

The Biſhop of Arras.

Anthony Perenot, Biſhop of Arras, ſo well known in the hiſtory of the Netherlands by the name of Cardinal Granvelle, was ſon to the celebrated Chancellor of that name, whom the late

late Emperor had for many years intruſted with the management of his moſt important affairs. Anthony, having been early initiated into buſineſs, had been employed by the Emperor for ſeveral years in the niceſt political negociations, and in ſome of the higheſt departments of the ſtate. He was a perſon of extraordinary abilities, and particularly diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence, his activity, his induſtry, and addreſs. Yet he was extremely odious to the people whom he was left to govern, who conſidered him as the principal author of all their grievances. In the court of Charles, and afterwards in that of Philip, he had acquired habits and principles not unſuitable, perhaps, to the miniſter of a deſpotic prince, but which rendered him exceedingly unfit for the government of the Low Countries, where the power of the ſovereign was ſo much limited by the laws. He was naturally choleric and haughty, vain, and oſtentatious of his credit with the King; and, by an imperious and intereſted behaviour, had diſguſted many of his friends, and inflamed the reſentment of his enemies. He was particularly obnoxious to the principal nobility; and, in the courſe of his miniſtry, had been inſtrumental in diſappointing many of them in their moſt favourite views of ambition and intereſt[p]. BOOK III. 1559.

[p] Bentivoglio, & Strada, & Dom'l'Eveſque, tom. i.

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In the hands of a perſon ſo univerſally diſliked, it could not reaſonably be expected that the government would proceed ſmoothly. While Philip himſelf was preſent, the diſcontented nobles were overawed. But no ſooner was that reſtraint removed which the King's preſence impoſed upon them, than their ill-humour broke out, with a degree of violence that drew after it the moſt ſerious and important conſequences.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK IV.

1559. Philip's arrival in Spain.

PHILIP ſet ſail from the Netherlands with a fleet of near ſeventy ſhips, on the 20th of Auguſt, and arrived at Loredo, in the province of Biſcay, on the 29th. He reached the port in ſafety, but no ſooner had he landed, than a dreadful ſtorm aroſe, in which a part of his fleet was ſhipwrecked; above a thouſand men periſhed, and a great number of capital paintings, ſtatues, and other curious works of art, were loſt, which Charles had been employed during forty years in collecting, in Germany, Italy, and Flanders.

PHILIP, animated by a ſpirit ſimilar to that which prompted him, after the victory of St.

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Quintin, to conſecrate a church to St. Laurence, thought he could not, on this occaſion, expreſs his gratitude for his preſervation, in a manner more acceptable to the Deity, than by declaring his reſolution to dedicate his life to the defence of the Catholic faith, and the extirpation of hereſy[2],

The joy of the Spaniards on this occaſion.

As the Spaniards had not for many years enjoyed the preſence of their ſovereign, his arrival diffuſed univerſal joy throughout the kingdom. His adminiſtration before his marriage with the Queen of England had procured him the general eſteem, and he was now more reſpected than ever, on account of the ſignal ſucceſs with which his arms had been attended in his wars with France, and the moderation and equity which he had diſplayed in the peace of Chateau-Cambreſis.

Philip's attachment to Spain.

The proofs of affection which he received at this time from his Spaniſh ſubjects, were the ſtronger, becauſe, although Philip ſeldom ſuffered either joy or ſorrow to appear in his looks, his diſcourſe, or behaviour, it was well known how much he was attached to his native country, more than to any of his other dominions; and it was generally believed,

[2] Father Paul, lib. v. p. 417.

that

that he intended to fix in it his perpetual reſi- BOOK
dence. His manners were ſuited only to thoſe IV.
of his Spaniſh ſubjects; he could not, as has 1559.
been already mentioned, ſpeak with facility any other language but theirs, and he poſſeſſed not that courage and enterpriſe by which the late Emperor had been determined to undertake ſo many voyages and journeys to the different ſtates which were ſubject to his dominion. The Low Countries had not, in the eyes of Philip, thoſe charms by which Charles had been ſo powerfully attracted; and were particularly diſagreeable to him, on account of the reſtrictions which their free conſtitution of government impoſed on his authority.

In the beginning of the reign of Charles, Spain was one of the freeſt ſtates in Europe; but as the nobles were humbled, and their power abridged, during the arbitrary but vigorous adminiſtration of Cardinal Ximenes; ſo the ill-concerted and unſucceſsful attempt which the commons of Caſtile made ſome years afterwards, to aſſert their rights, ſerved only to exalt the royal prerogative, which they intended to have circumſcribed, and to reduce the Cortes to an entire dependence on the crown. And although in Arragon the people ſtill enjoyed their ancient privileges, yet there was little probability that they would ever

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venture to diſpute the will of their Prince; who poſſeſſed ſuch inexhauſtible reſources, and could, when he pleaſed, employ even their own countrymen, the Caſtilians, to ſubdue them. But there was no circumſtance which ſerved more to increaſe Philip's partiality for Spain, and to make him prefer it to any of his other dominions for the place of his abode, than the full eſtabliſhment which the court of Inquiſition had acquired in that kingdom, and the ſecurity which this inſtitution afforded him againſt the propagation of hereſy.

Of the Inquiſition.

THIS tribunal, which, although it was not the parent, has been the nurſe and guardian of ignorance and ſuperſtition, in every kingdom into which it has been admitted, was introduced into Spain near a century before the preſent period, by Ferdinand and Iſabella; and was principally intended to prevent the relapſe of the Jews and Moors, who had been converted, or pretended to be converted, to the faith of the church of Rome. Its juriſdiction was not confined to the Jews and Moors, but extended to all thoſe who, in their practice or opinions, differed from the eſtabliſhed church. In the united kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon, there were eighteen different inquiſitorial courts; having each of them its counſellors, termed Apoſtolic Inquiſitors;

ſitors; its ſecretaries, ſerjeants, and other officers; and beſides theſe, there were twenty thouſand familiars diſperſed throughout the kingdom, who acted as ſpies and informers, and were employed to apprehend all ſuſpected perſons, and to commit them for their trial, to the priſons which belonged to the Inquiſition. By theſe familiars, perſons were ſeized on bare ſuſpicion; and, in contradiction to the common rules of law, they were put to the torture, tried and condemned by the inquiſitors, without being confronted either with their accuſers, or with the witneſſes on whoſe evidence they were condemned. The puniſhments inflicted were more or leſs dreadful, according to the caprice and humour of the judges. The unhappy victims were either ſtrangled, or committed to the flames, or loaded with chains and ſhut up in dungeons during life. Their effects were confiſcated, and their families ſtigmatized with infamy[b].

1559.

This inſtitution was, no doubt, well calculated to produce an uniformity of religious profeſſion; but it had a tendency likewiſe to deſtroy the ſweets of ſocial life; to baniſh all freedom of thought and ſpeech; to diſturb men's minds with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions, and to produce the moſt intolerable

[b] Mariana, lib. xxiv. c. xvi. p. 137.

 ſlavery,

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ſlavery, by reducing perſons of all ranks of life to a ſtate of abject dependence upon prieſts; whoſe integrity, were it even greater than that of other men, as in every falſe religion it is leſs, muſt have been corrupted by the uncontroulable authority which they were allowed to exerciſe.

SUCH nearly were the ſentiments which even the Spaniards entertained of this iniquitous tribunal, at the time when it was erected[c]. But not having had experience then of its pernicious effects, and conſidering it as intended for the chaſtiſement of Jews and infidels, they only murmured and complained; till, the yoke being wreathed about their necks, the moſt ſecret murmurings became dangerous, and often fatal to thoſe who uttered them.

Effects of this inſtitution on the character of the people.

BY this tribunal, a viſible change was wrought in the temper of the people; and reſerve, diſtruſt, and jealouſy, became the diſtinguiſhing character of a Spaniard. It perpetuated and confirmed the reign of ignorance and ſuperſtition. It inflamed the rage of religious bigotry; and, by the cruel ſpectacles to which, in the execution of its decrees, it familiariſed the people, it nouriſhed in them that ferocious

[c] Mariana,

ſpirit,

ſpirit, which, in the Netherlands and America, they manifeſted by deeds that have fixed an everlaſting reproach on the Spaniſh name. BOOK IV. 1559.

But theſe conſiderations could not be apprehended by Philip; nor if they had been ſuggeſted to him, would they have had any influence upon his conduct. He had imbibed, in all its virulence, that ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution, which gave birth to the Inquiſition. He regarded heretics as the moſt odious of criminals; and conſidered a departure in his ſubjects from the Roman ſuperſtition, as the moſt dreadful calamity that could befal them. He was therefore determined to ſupport the inquiſitors with all his power, and he encouraged them to exert themſelves in the exerciſe of their office, with the utmoſt diligence.

The zeal and vigilance of theſe men fully correſponded to that ardour with which their ſovereign was inflamed; yet ſo irreſiſtible in this age was the ſpirit of innovation, and ſo great the force of truth, that the opinions of the Reformers had found their way even into Spain, and were embraced openly by great numbers of both ſexes, among whom were both prieſts and nuns.

Even the Archbiſhop of Toledo, Bartlemi Caranza y Miranda, was, from certain propoſitions Caranza, Abp. of Toledo.

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positions contained in a catechism which he published, suspected to have espoused them. The inquisitors informed the King of the grounds of their suspicion, and desired to receive his instructions for their conduct. Caranza had been universally respected as one of the most virtuous and learned prelates in Spain. Having, when Provincial of the Order of St. Dominique, been carried by Philip into England, as a person well qualified to promote the re-establishment of popery in that kingdom, he had laboured with so much zeal for that end, and thereby recommended himself so powerfully to the King, that, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven, Philip advanced him to the primacy. His first employment, after attaining this high dignity, was to administer spiritual comfort to the late Emperor, whom he attended in his last distress. But the memory of his merit and services was now obliterated. Philip wrote to the inquisitors from the Netherlands, that they must, without hesitation, proceed against the Archbishop as they would do against other delinquents; and that they should not spare even his own son if they found him guilty of heresy. Caranza was accordingly thrown into prison, and his revenues were sequestrated. The propositions in his catechism, at which the inquisitors had taken offence, were held to be of a disputable nature, even among the Catholics themselves.

themſelves. It is probable, however, that ſentence would have been pronounced againſt him, had not the Pope interpoſed, and claimed an excluſive right to decide the cauſe. Philip, anxious for the honour of the Holy Office, to whoſe power he was deſirous that no bounds ſhould be preſcribed, employed all his intereſt to prevail on the Pontiff to drop his pretenſions. But at laſt he himſelf yielded; and Caranza, after having languiſhed in priſon for ſix years and ſeven months, was tranſported to Rome, where he was releaſed from confinement, but died in a few weeks after he was ſet at liberty[d]. BOOK IV. 1559.

BEFORE Philip's arrival in the city of Valladolid, an Autò-de-fé had been celebrated, in which a great number of Proteſtants were committed to the flames. There were ſtill in the priſons of the Inquiſition more than thirty perſons, againſt whom the ſame dreadful puniſhment had been denounced. Philip, eager to give public proof as early as poſſible of his abhorrence of theſe innovators, deſired the inquiſitors to fix a day for their execution; and he reſolved to witneſs it. The dreadful ceremony (more repugnant to humanity, as well as to the ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, than the moſt An Autò-de-fé at Valladolid, witneſſed by Philip.

[d] Ferreras, annis 1559 & 1565. Campana, an. 1559. Miniana, lib. v. c. xi.

abominable

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abominable ſacrifices recorded in the annals of the Pagan world) was conducted with the greateſt ſolemnity which the inquiſitors could deviſe; and Philip, attended by his ſon Don Carlos, by his ſiſter, and by his courtiers and guards, ſat within ſight of the unhappy victims. After hearing a ſermon from the Biſhop of Zamora, he roſe from his ſeat, and having drawn his ſword, as a ſignal, that with *it* he would defend the holy faith, he took an oath adminiſtered to him by the Inquiſitor-General, to ſupport the Inquiſition and its miniſters againſt all heretics and apoſtates, and to compel his ſubjects every where to yield obedience to its decrees.

AMONG the Proteſtants condemned, there was a nobleman of the name of Don Carlos di Seſſa, who, when the executioners were conducting him to the ſtake, called out to the King for mercy, ſaying, "And canſt thou thus, O "King! witneſs the torments of thy ſubjects? "ſave us from this cruel death; we do not "deſerve it." "No," Philip ſternly replied, "I would myſelf carry wood to burn my own "ſon, were he ſuch a *wretch* as thou[c]." After which he beheld the horrid ſpectacle that fol-

[c] Io traen lenna para quemar a mi hijo ſi fuere tan malo como vos. Cabrera, lib. v. c. iii. Miniana, l. v. c. xi.

lowed,

lowed, with a compoſure and tranquillity that betokened the moſt unfeeling heart.

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THIS dreadful ſeverity, joined with certain rigid laws, enacted to prevent the importation of Lutheran books, ſoon produced the deſired effect. After the celebration of another Autò-de-fé[f], in which about fifty Proteſtants ſuffered, all the reſt, if there were any who ſtill remained, either concealed their ſentiments, or made their eſcape into foreign parts[g].

PHILIP proceeded next to ſettle the civil government of the kingdom; and, according to the Spaniſh hiſtorians, he diſcovered in the choice of his miniſters, and of the governors of towns and provinces, much prudence and circumſpection; of which laſt, an hiſtorian gives the following inſtance, that, beſides making diligent inquiry concerning the characters of the ſeveral candidates for office, he kept a regiſter for his own uſe, in which he recorded all the vices and defects, as well as the virtues and accompliſhments of each[h].

HE might have confined his attention to objects of this nature, and have applied himſelf wholly to the internal adminiſtration of his

[f] In Seville. [g] Miniana, lib. v. c. xi. [h] Ibid.

dominions,

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dominions, had he not found it neceſſary to provide againſt the hoſtile intentions with which the Turkiſh Emperor, and the corſairs of Barbary, were animated againſt him.

Of the Turkiſh Emperor.

THE Ottoman empire was, in the preſent period, at the ſummit of its glory, under the victorious Solyman; the greateſt and the moſt enlightened of all the Sultans. In Perſia, in Hungary, and in Africa, this heroic Prince had widely extended the limits of his empire; had expelled the Knights of St. John from Rhodes, which till then had been deemed impregnable; had ſtripped the Venetians of a great part of their territories; laid waſte the coaſts of Italy and Spain; and filled all Europe with admiration of his exploits, and with the terror of his name. From the time of his competition with Ferdinand in Hungary, he had regarded the Princes of the Houſe of Auſtria as his rivals. He had aſſiſted Henry II. of France, firſt againſt Charles, and afterwards againſt Philip; as he had formerly aſſiſted Francis againſt the Emperor. And in the late war, although by ſome accident his fleet did not arrive in time to act in concert with that of France, yet it came afterwards under his Admiral Piali, who, having landed his troops in Italy, and in the iſlands of Prochita and Minorca, put great numbers of the inhabitants

bitants to the ſword, and carried off many hundred priſoners into ſlavery[i]. BOOK IV. 1559.

From an enemy ſo powerful and enterpriſing, Philip had much to apprehend. But he believed it to be inconſiſtent with the character of protector of the church, to which he aſpired, to enter into any alliance with a Prince who was the declared and irreconcileable enemy of Chriſtianity; and therefore, far from propoſing any terms of accommodation, he iſſued orders for putting the coaſts of Spain and Italy into a poſture of defence, leſt Soliman ſhould find leiſure from his other occupations to renew hoſtilities.

The Corſairs of Barbary.

But the Spaniſh monarch had more immediate cauſe of inquietude from the Corſairs on the coaſt of Africa, an enemy much more formidable than before, by the aſſiſtance which Soliman had afforded them ever ſince they acknowledged him for their ſovereign. They conſiſted of Turks, Arabs, Negroes, and Moors; the laſt of whom were partly natives, and partly ſuch as had been expelled from Spain in the time of Ferdinand and Iſabella. They were all men of barbarous manners, inflamed with the moſt bigoted zeal for the Ma-

[i] Ferreras, an. 1558.

hometan

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hometan religion, open foes to almoſt every Chriſtian power, and animated with a peculiar hatred againſt the Spaniards, who had often attacked them in their ſtrong holds, and had long treated their brother Mahometans, the Moreſcoes in Spain, with inhumanity. They had often taken full revenge for theſe injuries, under the celebrated brothers, Horuc and Hayradin Barbaroſſas. Their principal fleet was now commanded by another Corſair, of the name of Dragut, the Barbaroſſa of his age, and not inferior to either of the two brothers in thoſe qualifications by which they were ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed.

Dragut.

BORN in a little village in Natolia, oppoſite to the iſle of Rhodes, and ſprung, like the Barbaroſſas, from the meaneſt parents, Dragut had, in his youth, enliſted himſelf on board a Turkiſh galley, and had ſerved there for ſome years as a common ſailor. In that ſtation he gave conſpicuous proofs of his capacity. He ſeemed however to be governed by a paſſion extremely different from that ambition which is the ordinary attendant upon genius, and to have no other end in view than to enrich himſelf. But as ſoon as he had acquired a certain ſum of money, he purchaſed a galley of his own, and began the adventurous occupation of a Corſair, in which he became remarkable for his ſkill

ſkill in navigation, his knowledge of the ſeas, his intrepidity, and enterpriſe. His character did not remain long unknown to Hayradin Barbaroſſa, who was at that time high admiral of the Turkiſh fleet. Barbaroſſa gladly received Dragut into his ſervice, and having made him his lieutenant, he gave him the command of twelve of his ſhips of war. With this fleet Dragut did infinite miſchief to all the European ſtates who traded in the Mediterranean, the French only excepted, whoſe monarchs were in alliance with the Turkiſh Emperor. He ſuffered no ſeaſon to paſs unemployed. Scarcely a ſingle Spaniſh or Italian ſhip eſcaped him; and when he failed in taking a ſufficient number of prizes, he commonly made ſome ſudden deſcent on the coaſts of Spain or Italy, plundering the country, and carrying off great numbers of the inhabitants into captivity. In theſe deſcents he was generally fortunate; but in the year 1541, having landed his men in a creek in Corſica, they were ſcattered along the coaſt, and employed in collecting their booty, when Juanetin Doria, the brave nephew of the illuſtrious Andrew Doria, came upon him with a ſuperior force, took nine of his ſhips, and compelled him to ſurrender. When he was carried on board the Admiral's galley, he could not reſtrain his indignation, but exclaimed, "And am I then doomed to be thus

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BOOK IV. 1559. "loaded with fetters by a beardleſs youth?" a ſaying which occaſioned his meeting with harder uſage than he would otherwiſe have received. Both Barbaroſſa and Solyman intereſted themſelves in his behalf, and made tempting offers to the Genoeſe for his ranſom. Notwithſtanding which they detained him four years in captivity; nor could they be perſuaded to ſet him at liberty, till Barbaroſſa, with a hundred gallies under his command, appeared before their town, and threatened to lay it in aſhes, if he were not inſtantly releaſed. The Genoeſe found it neceſſary to comply with this requeſt; and Dragut, who was immediately afterwards furniſhed with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips by Barbaroſſa, and was now inflamed with redoubled hatred againſt all who bore the name of Chriſtians, reſumed his former occupation, and ſought after opportunities, with unceaſing ardor, to wreak his vengeance upon his enemies. Beſides captures which he made at ſea, he ſacked and pillaged, year after year, innumerable villages and towns in Italy and the adjacent iſles. Having been diſpoſſeſſed by Doria of his ſtrong ſea-port of Mohedia on the coaſt of Barbary, he had ample revenge afterwards on 1552. that gallant ſeaman, in an engagement off Naples, in which he took ſix of his ſhips, with a great number of troops on board, and obliged Doria himſelf, and the reſt of the fleet,

to fly before him. In the year immediately following, he ſubdued almoſt the whole iſland of Corſica, and delivered it into the hands of the French. After this, having made himſelf maſter of Tripoli, he fortified that place in the ſtrongeſt manner. From Tripoli he iſſued forth as often as the ſeaſon would permit; and after Philip's acceſſion, and even after peace was concluded between France and Spain, he continued to practiſe as formerly his depredations upon the coaſts of Sicily, Naples, and other ſtates which belonged to the Spaniſh monarchy.

1559.

Expedition againſt Tripoli and the iſle of Gerba.

Of theſe hoſtilities Philip had received particular information before he left the Netherlands; and had been earneſtly exhorted by the Sieur de la Valette, Grand-maſter of the Knights of Malta, and the Duke de Medina Cœli, Governor of Sicily, to think ſeriouſly of putting an end to the innumerable miſchiefs to which his ſubjects were expoſed from this active corſair, by ſending ſuch a force againſt him as might compel him to abandon his retreat. Philip readily conſented to this requeſt; and as he was informed by La Valette, that Dragut himſelf was abſent at that time from Tripoli, carrying on an inland war againſt one of the kings in Barbary, he ſent immediate orders to the Duke de Medina Cœli, Doria, and others, to haſten forward the

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preparations neceſſary for the intended enterpriſe. The Pope and moſt of the other princes in Italy contributed their aſſiſtance, and a fleet was aſſembled conſiſting of more than a hundred ſhips, having fourteen thouſand ſoldiers on board. This armament, of which the Duke de Medina Cœli had the chief command, ſet ſail from Meſſina in the end of October one thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine, and paſſed over to Syracuſe. There it was detained by contrary winds for ſeveral weeks, and during that time a diſeaſe, occaſioned by unwholeſome proviſions, carried off between three and four thouſand of the troops. Medina Cœli, however, proceeded on his voyage, ſtill hoping that he had force ſufficient to enſure ſucceſs; and it is probable that he would not have been diſappointed had he advanced directly and laid ſiege to Tripoli. But he thought it would facilitate the reduction of that place to make himſelf maſter beforehand of the iſle of Gerba, which lies a few miles from Tripoli, and was held by a Mooriſh governor, attached to the intereſt of Dragut. This iſland was ſubdued with little difficulty; and a caſtle which had been erected upon it was, after a feeble reſiſtance, abandoned by the Moors, whoſe commander ſwore allegiance upon the Alcoran to the King of Spain.

1559.

It was the opinion of ſome of the principal officers that this caſtle ſhould be immediately deſtroyed, and that the fleet ſhould proceed to Tripoli without delay. But the Duke was unfortunately of a different opinion, and reſolved not only to preſerve the caſtle but to ſtrengthen and enlarge it. In this prepoſterous undertaking a great deal of time was loſt. Dragut had returned with his army from his inland expedition; and he had leiſure not only to provide for the ſecurity of the town, but to ſend notice to the Grand Seignior of the operations of the Chriſtian fleet, which he repreſented might be attacked with great advantage in its preſent ſituation, while the commander was off his guard, and moſt of the forces were on ſhore.

Deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet by the Turks.

Solyman embraced, without heſitation, the tempting opportunity which was thus preſented to him. He fitted out, with the utmoſt expedition, a fleet of ſeventy-four gallies, put a hundred Janiſſaries, beſides other ſoldiers, on board each of them, and gave the command to his Admiral Piali, with orders to proceed in his voyage as faſt as poſſible. The Spaniards were informed of his approach by a Malteſe frigate, and were thrown into great perplexity. A council of war was immediately held. Some officers were for waiting till the enemy ſhould arrive, and adviſed Medina to

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give them battle. Others, among whom was the younger Doria [k], whoſe courage was unqueſtionable, were of opinion, that, conſidering the ſickly condition of the troops, and the great diminution which they had undergone, they could not contend with ſo powerful an enemy without the utmoſt danger of a total overthrow, and therefore that they ought immediately to retire, and conduct the fleet to a place of ſafety. The Duke de Medina Cœli, a man of no experience in maritime affairs, and utterly unqualified for the charge which he had undertaken, was at a loſs to determine to which of the two meaſures propoſed he ſhould give the preference. There was a neceſſity for embracing inſtantly either the one or the other. Yet he balanced between them for ſome days, and ſtill continued to make the troops work in completing the fortifications of the caſtle, till intelligence was brought him that the enemy were at hand, and ſteering directly towards the iſland.

THERE was no time now to put the fleet into a poſture of defence. Both the mariners and ſoldiers were overwhelmed with terror; and each crew, without waiting for the word of command, made haſte, with oars and ſails, to eſcape from the impending danger. Several

[k] The elder Doria was prevented from taking a part in this expedition, by the infirmities of old age.

ſhips

ſhips foundered among the flats and ſhallows. Others were driven back by the wind, or by the enemy, and wrecked upon the iſland. Some eſcaped, and particularly thoſe which belonged to the order of St. John, through their ſuperior acquaintance with the coaſt. Above thirty were taken by the Turks; about one thouſand men were killed or drowned, and five thouſand taken priſoners. Medina Cœli, with Doria, and ſome other principal officers, paſſed in the night through the middle of the enemy's fleet, and arrived ſafe at Malta; having, before his departure, committed the charge of the fort of Gerba to Don Alvaro de Sandé, to whom he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſpeedy aſſiſtance and relief.

1559.

The ſiege of the fort of Gerba by the Turks.

THIS valiant Spaniard had very little reaſon to truſt to theſe aſſurances, and could not expect to be able to hold out long againſt ſo great a force as he knew would be employed againſt him; eſpecially as he was but indifferently furniſhed with proviſions, and was much more likely to find enemies than friends in the natives of the iſland. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, he readily undertook the arduous taſk aſſigned him; and having got his garriſon augmented by the crews of thoſe ſhips which, in attempting to make their eſcape, had been driven back upon the

BOOK IV. coaſt, he prepared with great alacrity for a vigorous defence.

1559.

Piali loſt no time after his victory, but immediately landed his troops, and began the ſiege. He was furniſhed with artillery by Dragut, who brought it himſelf, together with ſome freſh forces, from Tripoli. About twelve thouſand Turks, beſides the iſlanders and other Moors were employed in the ſiege. In their firſt approaches many of them were killed. But ſoon after their battery had been unmaſked, a great part of the wall of the fort was laid in ruins. The beſieged in the mean time began to ſuffer greatly from the heat of the ſeaſon, and from the ſcarcity and unwholeſomeneſs of the water and proviſions. Great numbers died, and many, grown impatient under the hardſhips to which they were expoſed, deſerted to the enemy. By theſe men Piali was informed of the diſtreſſed condition of the garriſon; and he invited them to ſurrender, and promiſed to ſpare their lives. Don Alvaro rejected this offer with diſdain, and ſtill perſiſted in the defence. But at length finding that his ſtock of proviſions was almoſt ſpent, and having deſpaired of the relief which had been promiſed by Medina, he called together the garriſon, which amounted now only to one thouſand men, and having reminded them of the glory which they had acquired, and informed them that

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that they had neither bread to support their bodies, nor numbers to defend the fort any longer, he desired them to resolve, whether they would give themselves up tamely to be the slaves of their barbarous enemy, or imitate the example which he would set them, and die fighting bravely for the honour of their religion and their country. The soldiers called out with one voice, "That they chose death "rather than slavery; and were ready to fol- "low wheresoever he should lead them." He then desired they would refresh themselves with such victuals as still remained, and hold themselves in readiness to leave the fort about the middle of the night. BOOK IV. A.D. 1559.

At that time they set out, by the gate which looked towards the sea, and having passed a triple rampart, which had been thrown up to prevent their sallies, they made dreadful havoc among the Turks, and had almost reached the general's tent, when they were put to a stand by the Janissaries. They fought long and desperately; but at last, the whole Turkish camp being up in arms, they were overpowered by numbers, and almost all of them were slain. Alvaro, with two officers who had kept near him, forced his way through the thickest part of the enemy, till he reached the shore, and got on board a Spanish ship which had been stranded,

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ſtranded. There he was ſtanding at day-break, with his target in one hand and his ſword in the other, ſurrounded by the Turkiſh ſoldiers, who would have quickly buried him under their darts, if their officers, who highly reſpected his heroic valour, had not reſtrained them. Having been urged by a Genoeſe renegado to lay down his arms, and aſſured of receiving a treatment ſuitable to his rank and merit, he at laſt conſented to ſurrender himſelf to Piali[1].

SUCH was the concluſion of this unfortunate enterpriſe; the failure of which, and all the calamities which enſued, ſeem to have been owing principally to the weakneſs, obſtinacy, and inexperience of the Commander in chief; yet we do not find that Philip ever expreſſed any diſſatisfaction with his conduct. He either viewed it in a different light from that in which it has been repreſented by the contemporary hiſtorians; or he conſidered, that it would have been a tacit acknowledgement of his own want of diſcernment, to accuſe, of imprudence or incapacity, a perſon whom he had judged deſerving of ſo great a truſt. Inſtead of this,

[1] He was carried to Conſtantinople with the other priſoners, and was afterwards ſet at liberty, by an article in a treaty of peace between the Sultan and the Emperor of Germany.

he

he applied himſelf to provide againſt the effects which he had reaſon to dread from the ſucceſs of the Turkiſh arms. He could hardly doubt that Piali would purſue his victory, and make a deſcent on the coaſts of Spain or Italy. BOOK IV. 1559.

THE inhabitants were every where agitated with the moſt alarming apprehenſions. Watch-towers were raiſed along the coaſt; and the fleet, which had lately ſuffered ſo much, was repaired with the utmoſt diligence. But theſe preparations, although they were afterwards found uſeful, were not at preſent neceſſary. Solyman, having other objects of ambition which engroſſed his attention, recalled his fleet to Conſtantinople, and thus delivered the Italians and Spaniards from their preſent fears [m].

PHILIP ſoon afterwards received intelligence that Haſcem, ſon of the celebrated Barbaroſſa, and Viceroy of Algiers under Solyman, had formed a deſign upon Oran and Maſarquivir, two ſtrong forts on the coaſt of Barbary, which had been in the poſſeſſion of Spain ſince the year one thouſand five hundred and nine, when they were ſubdued by Cardinal Ximenes. In order to fruſtrate this deſign, a fleet of twenty-four gallies had been ordered to ſail to Oran, The ſiege of Oran and Maſarquivir.

[m] Cabrera, lib. v. c. v. viii. xii. xiii. Miniana, lib. v. c. xii.

for

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for the reinforcement of the garriſon; but this fleet had been overtaken in the middle of its courſe by a dreadful ſtorm, in which two and twenty of the ſhips were loſt.

By this accident Haſcem was encouraged to proceed in his projected enterpriſe. Having perſuaded ſeveral of the Mahometan princes in Barbary to aſſiſt him with their troops, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Oran early in the ſpring, with a fleet of more than thirty ſhips, and an army of an hundred thouſand men. Of the two places which he intended to attack, only Maſarquivir is a ſea-port, and Oran lies at the diſtance of near a league from it. With ſo great an army he was enabled to block up both places at once; but he began his operations with the ſiege of Maſarquivir, which, though of greater importance by reaſon of its ſituation, was not ſo ſtrongly fortified.

The Count de Alcaudeté, the Spaniſh governor, who had foreſeen the approaching ſtorm, had provided to the utmoſt of his power for the ſecurity of the places committed to his care; and both he and his brother Don Martin de Cordova, to whom he committed the chief command in Maſarquivir, were determined to hold out to the laſt extremity. Many bloody rencounters paſſed between the contending

contending parties, in the ſallies which Alcaudeté made from Oran; and in theſe the Spaniards had generally the advantage. Don Martin and the troops under his command, gave, if poſſible, ſtill ſtronger proofs of intrepidity in their defence of Maſarquivir. The walls were laid in ruins by the enemy's artillery. Haſcem made eleven different aſſaults, and his ſtandard was raiſed again and again upon the ruins of the walls; yet he was finally repulſed, and obliged, notwithſtanding his numbers, to yield to the unconquerable obſtinacy of the Spaniards. Theſe brave men, however, were now ſenſible, that, from the want of proviſions, they muſt ere long either throw away their lives, or ſubmit to that odious ſlavery to which they knew that the implacable hatred of their ungenerous enemy had doomed them. 1559.

The ſiege of Oran raiſed by the Spaniards.

PHILIP was not ignorant of the diſtreſs to which they were reduced; and he had exerted himſelf with great activity in making preparations for their relief. But as Maſarquivir was blocked up by ſea as well as by land, it was neceſſary that the ſupplies which he had provided ſhould be accompanied with a fleet ſuperior to that of the enemy. Such a fleet he at laſt collected from Italy and the ſea-ports in Spain, and gave the command of it to Don Francis de Mendoza,

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Mendoza, with inſtructions to ſail for Maſarquivir with the utmoſt expedition. Mendoza happily arrived in time. Having come unexpectedly upon Haſcem's fleet, he took nine ſhips, and put the reſt to flight; and Haſcem himſelf, who had been employed for ſome days in preparing for a new aſſault, perceiving the danger to which he was expoſed from the Spaniſh fleet on the one hand, and the garriſons in Oran and Maſarquivir on the other, raiſed the ſiege precipitately, after it had laſted three months; and marched off with all his forces to Algiers. The Spaniards purſued for ſeveral miles; but finding they were unable to overtake him, they returned; and the fleet, after reinforcing the garriſons of Oran and Maſarquivir, ſet ſail for Spain, where they were received with great rejoicing. The Count de Alcaudeté was ſoon after made Viceroy of Navarre; Don Martin received diſtinguiſhed marks of the royal favour; and all the officers, and even the private ſoldiers, were rewarded in proportion to their rank and merit[n].

The reduction of Pennon de Velez by the Spaniards.

DURING the abſence of the fleet, the trade of Spain had ſuſtained conſiderable prejudice from the depredations of a celebrated corſair, of the name of Cara Muſtapha, who, with a

[n] Cabrera, lib. vi. Herrera, Hiſt. Gen. del Mondo, lib. v. c. iii. and iv.

ſquadron

ſquadron of ſix or ſeven ſhips, traverſed the Mediterranean with unwearied activity, and made innumerable captures. His retreat was a fort on the African coaſt, called Pennon de Velez, which, in thoſe days, before the invention of bombs, was reckoned almoſt impregnable. It is ſituated on a ſteep and rugged rock, and is inacceſſible, except by a narrow path, cut out in the rock itſelf; which is ſeparated from the continent by a channel, capable of containing about a dozen of thoſe ſhips which were uſually employed in cruizing. This rock was fortified, both above and below, with a wall, flanked with baſtions, and mounted with cannon; and afforded a conſtant ſhelter and protection to the corſairs, when purſued. From its ſituation near the Straits, theſe corſairs could annoy the Chriſtians, while they themſelves were expoſed to very little danger; and it was become an object of the moſt ſerious concern to all the Chriſtian powers who traded in the Mediterranean, to wreſt it from them.

1559.

In conſequence of a report which gained credit, that Solyman intended this year to make an attack either on Spain or Italy, Philip had greatly augmented his naval force; but when he found that either there had been no ground for this report, or that the Sultan had changed his deſign, he thought that he could not employ

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ploy his fleet more uſefully than by attempting to reduce Pennon de Velez, which had been long an object of much dread to his ſubjects.

Not ſatisfied with his own numerous fleet, he ſolicited aſſiſtance from Portugal, from the Knights of Malta, and from his allies in Italy; nor did he permit them to ſet ſail from Malaga, the place of rendezvous, till he had collected above ninety gallies, beſides ſixty ſhips of a ſmaller ſize, with no leſs than thirteen thouſand ſoldiers on board. The providing of ſo great a force was not merely an effect of that extraordinary caution with which Philip commonly entered upon any military enterpriſe; and ſuch a number of troops could not be employed in beſieging a place of ſuch ſmall extent as Pennon de Velez; but as the Moors in the country adjacent were deeply intereſted in the preſervation of the fort, on account of immenſe quantities of commodities of all kinds, and the number of Chriſtian ſlaves which were daily ſold to them by the corſairs, there was reaſon to apprehend that they would conſider the cauſe of theſe pirates as their own, and give all the oppoſition in their power to the Spaniards, in the operations of the ſiege.

Agreeably to this perſuaſion, the allies no ſooner arrived upon the coaſt, than great numbers

bers of theſe barbarians appeared among the hills, by the foot of which the army were obliged to paſs in their way to the fort. But theſe tumultuary troops were not able to prevent the Spaniards from landing; nor, although they gave them ſome annoyance on their march, could they obſtruct the operations of ſo formidable a body of regular forces. Still, however, it was the opinion of ſeveral of the allies, that after all that could be done to reduce a fort of ſo ſingular a conſtruction, they would in the iſſue find it neceſſary to abandon their attempt. This would probably have happened, if Muſtapha himſelf had been preſent. But, in order to ſave his ſhips from falling a prey to the enemy, he had left the place ſome time before, and given the command of it to a renegado, of the name of Ferret, with two hundred Turks under him, and ammunition and proviſion ſufficient to ſerve for a much longer time than the blockade was likely to continue.

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He believed that the Spaniards would ſoon perceive the folly of their undertaking; and was therefore employed in his uſual practice of cruiſing, with very little concern about the fate of his retreat. But he had been deceived in his opinion of thoſe to whom he had committed a charge of ſo great importance. Both the go-

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vernor and garriſon were intimidated by the ſight of that powerful fleet and army which now encompaſſed them. No ſooner were ſome of their guns diſmounted by a Spaniſh battery, and a part of the wall demoliſhed, than they were ſtruck with the moſt violent panic, and the governor, and moſt of the garriſon, made their eſcape to the continent in the middle of the night, by ſwimming. Such of them only remained as could not ſwim; and by theſe men the fort was delivered to the Spaniards.

THERE was much good fortune and little glory in this valuable conqueſt; but the joy which it excited over all the ſouthern coaſt of Spain was inexpreſſible; and it was the more complete, as well as the more generally diffuſed, becauſe only a very ſmall number had been killed or wounded in their rencounters with the Moors. Don Garcia de Toledo, the commander in chief, was, ſoon after his return, rewarded by Philip with the vice-royalty of Sicily [o].

[o] Cabrera, lib. vi. c. xvii. Ferreras, part xiv. Vertot's Hiſtory of the Knights of Malta.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK V.

DURING the courſe of thoſe military operations which have been deſcribed, Philip beheld with much anxiety the rapid progreſs of hereſy in almoſt every ſtate in Europe except Spain; and, in order to obſtruct it, he employed all his influence to procure the convocation of a general council of the Church. 1559.

The perſecution of the Proteſtants.

In the firſt years of the reformation, the bigotry of thoſe who adhered to the ancient ſuperſtition, ſuffered them not to think of any other means of extirpating the opinions of the Proteſtants, but perſecution; which was exerciſed againſt them with the ſame unrelenting ſeverity, as if they had been guilty of the moſt

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atrocious crimes. But it ſoon appeared how inadequate this barbarous procedure was to the purpoſe which the Romaniſts intended. Thoſe bloody edicts which were publiſhed, thoſe fires which were lighted up, and that variety of torments which prieſts and inquiſitors invented with ingenious cruelty, ſerved in reality to propagate the doctrines againſt which they were employed, and contributed to inflame, rather than extinguiſh, that ardent zeal with which the Proteſtants were animated. Being firmly perſuaded, that the cauſe which they maintained, was the cauſe of God and truth, and that their perſeverance would be rewarded with a happy immortality, they courted their puniſhments inſtead of avoiding them; and in bearing them, they diſplayed a degree of fortitude and patience, which, by exciting admiration in the beholders, produced innumerable proſelytes to the faith for which they ſuffered.

Progreſs of the reformation.

SEVERAL Princes had been converted to the faith. In ſome ſtates the Proteſtants had become more numerous and powerful than their opponents; and in others, their opinions ſo generally prevailed, that the Catholic Princes found it no longer poſſible to extirpate them, without depriving themſelves of great multitudes of their moſt induſtrious ſubjects, on whom

whom the wealth and importance of their states depended. The time when persecution might have proved effectual was past, and the Princes came at length to perceive the necessity of having recourse to some more gentle means than had been hitherto employed. They were at the same time sensible, notwithstanding their prejudices against the Reformers, that some reformation was extremely necessary; they had long borne with great impatience the numberless encroachments of the court of Rome; and were convinced, that if some abuses were removed, it would not be impracticable to persuade the Protestants to return into the bosom of the church.

1559.

A GENERAL council appeared to be the only expedient by which this important end could be obtained; and the late Emperor Charles had taken infinite pains to procure the convocation of that assembly. In former times the councils of the church had been convened by the Emperors themselves; but, in the time of Charles, the power of calling them was, by all true Catholics, considered as the peculiar prerogative of the Popes; who dreaded, that such assemblies might derogate from their usurped authority, and were therefore inclined, if possible, to prevent them from being held. With the timid Clement, Charles em-

A general council desired by the Catholic Princes.

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ployed all his art and influence to procure a council, but in vain. Paul the Third was no leſs averſe to this meaſure than Clement; but the Emperor being ſeconded by almoſt all the Catholic Princes in Europe, Paul yielded to their importunities, and ſummoned a council to meet in Trent. From this place it was afterwards tranſlated to Bologna. After the death of Paul it was again aſſembled in Trent in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-one, and continued to be held there till the year following; when it was prorogued for two years, upon war being declared againſt the Emperor by the Elector of Saxony.

In the ſeſſions which were held under Paul, that fundamental tenet of the reformers, by which the writings of the evangeliſts and apoſtles are held to be the only rule of the Chriſtian faith, was condemned; and equal authority was aſcribed to the books termed Apocryphal, and to the oral traditions of the church.

From the manner in which the deliberations of this aſſembly were conducted, from the nature of its deciſions, and from the blind attachment of a great majority of its members to the court of Rome, there was little ground to hope for the attainment of thoſe ends for which the calling of it had been ſo earneſtly deſired.

desired. But no other expedient could be devised, which the Catholics thought so likely to stop the progress of heresy; and therefore, as soon as the war between France and Spain was concluded, the several Catholic princes began to think seriously of the restoration of the council. 1560.

The state of Europe.

THE state of Europe at that time seemed more than ever to require the application of some immediate remedy. The power and number of the Protestants were every day becoming more and more considerable. Both England and Scotland had disclaimed allegiance to the see of Rome, and new-modelled their religion. In the Netherlands the reformers had greatly multiplied of late, notwithstanding the most dreadful cruelties had been exercised against them; and in France, where every province was involved in the most terrible combustion, there was ground to apprehend, that they would soon become too powerful for the Catholics, and be able to wrest from them the reins of government. The new opinions had penetrated even into Italy, and had been embraced by a considerable number of persons both in Naples and Savoy. From the former of these States they were extirpated by the unrelenting severity of Philip; who issued orders to his Viceroy to put all heretics

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to death without mercy, and even to purſue with fire and ſword a remnant of them who had fled from Coſenza, and were living quietly among the mountains [a].

The Pope's dread of national ſynods in Savoy and in France.

BUT the Duke of Savoy, unwilling to deprive himſelf of ſo great a number of uſeful ſubjects as had been converted to the Proteſtant faith, was inclined to attempt to enlighten and convince them; and with this view he deſired the Pope's permiſſion to hold a colloquy of the principal eccleſiaſtics in his dominions, on the ſubject of religion. Pius was about the ſame time informed, that in France a reſolution had been embraced to have recourſe to the ſame expedient. He believed that no meaſure could be deviſed more likely to prove fatal to that excluſive prerogative which he claimed, of judging in matters of religion. He dreaded that the example of France and Savoy would be quickly followed by other ſtates, and the decrees of provincial ſynods ſubſtituted in the place of thoſe of the Holy See. It highly concerned him, therefore, to prevent this meaſure (ſo pernicious to his authority) from taking place. Nor did he find much difficulty in diſſuading the Duke of Savoy from adopting it. "If the heretics," ſaid he to the Duke's ambaſſador, "ſtand in need

[a] Paul, lib. v.

of

of inſtruction, I will ſend divines and a legate, by whom they may be both inſtructed and abſolved. But your maſter will find, that they will lend a deaf ear to all the inſtructions that can be given them, and will put no other interpretation upon his conduct, but that he wants power to compel them to ſubmit. No good effect was ever produced by that lenity which he inclines to exerciſe; but from experience he may learn, that the ſooner he ſhall execute juſtice on theſe men, and make uſe of force to reduce them, the more certain will be his ſucceſs; and if he will comply with the counſel which I offer, he ſhall receive from me ſuch aſſiſtance as will enable him to carry it into execution."

1560.

THE Duke, who was ſincerely attached to the Roman faith, and cloſely connected with Philip, unfortunately complied with this violent counſel, and engaged in a bloody war with his Proteſtant ſubjects, of which he had afterwards the greateſt reaſon to repent[b].

THE Pope met with much more difficulty in preventing a national ſynod in France than in

His averſion to the calling of a council.

[b] He found it neceſſary at laſt to grant them the free exerciſe of their religion, after having been worſted by them in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes among the mountains, and ſuffering a total overthrow in a pitched battle, in which he loſt 7000 of his troops. Paul, lib. v.

Savoy;

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Savoy; and was obliged to promiſe, that he ſhould call a general council without delay. Pius had, before his promotion, taken an oath to this purpoſe, as all the other cardinals had likewiſe done, before they proceeded to his election. But no ſooner had he aſcended the papal throne, than he adopted the ſentiments of his predeceſſors; and ſhewed that he entertained the ſame averſion to this aſſembly which they had ſo uniformly manifeſted. He remembered the motives which had determined Paul the Third to diſſolve it, under the colour of a tranſlation to Bologna. He reflected on the danger to which Julius had been expoſed, and from which his good fortune and the war of Germany had delivered him; and he conſidered, that as there was now no prince ſo powerful as Charles, by whom the prelates could be overawed, they would probably aſſume a bolder tone in the council, and attempt to advance their own prerogatives on the ruins of the papacy.

He finds it neceſſary to conſent to it.

For theſe reaſons he would gladly have eluded the performance of his oath. But ſo great was his dread of the fatal conſequences which might ariſe from a national ſynod in France, and ſo earneſt the importunity of Philip, of the Emperor, and other Catholic Princes, that he at laſt thought it neceſſary to comply with their requeſt; reſolving to employ all his

attention in providing againſt the dangers to which his authority would be thereby expoſed. BOOK V. 1560.

AFTER many delays, which Pius knew well how to interpoſe, the bull of convocation, ſummoning the council to meet in Trent at Eaſter, was publiſhed in the conſiſtory on the twenty-ninth of September one thouſand five hundred and ſixty; and nuncios were diſpatched to give intimation of it to all the Chriſtian powers.

THE Pope and cardinals were greatly at a loſs to determine whether the council ſhould be mentioned in the bull as a new one, or as a continuation of that which had been held under Paul and Julius. The deciſion of this point, ſeemingly of ſmall importance, was rendered difficult by the conſequences which it involved. For if the continuation were declared, then all thoſe decrees of the former ſeſſions, which were levelled againſt the Proteſtants, would be held ſacred, and receive the ſanction of the council that was about to be convened. The Proteſtants would conſider themſelves as already condemned, and pay no regard to the bull of convocation. Whereas, if in this bull the aſſembly to be ſummoned were denominated a new council, they might expect

The bull of convocation.

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expect that all the points in controverſy would be diſcuſſed anew, and conſequently might be perſuaded to ſend deputies to the council, and to acknowledge its authority.

In this the Emperor and the Queen-mother and miniſters of France was deeply intereſted; and they urged with great earneſtneſs, that in the bull no mention ſhould be made of the former ſeſſions, and no occaſion given the Proteſtants to ſuſpect that any reſtriction would be laid upon the proceedings of the council. Philip was governed by views and ſentiments of a very different nature. His deteſtation of the Proteſtants prevented him from reliſhing any other method of dealing with them, but that of force. He was utterly averſe to making any conceſſions to reconcile them; and he deſired the celebration of the council, not ſo much in order to recover thoſe who had already revolted from the church, as either to prevent others from following their example, or, as Pius afterwards ſuſpected, to increaſe the power of the Biſhops and Princes, by abridging the juriſdiction of the Pope; to whoſe exorbitant pretenſions Philip was in reality adverſe, notwithſtanding that devoted attachment to the Holy See which he affected, in order to promote his ambitious deſigns. With theſe views and ſentiments,

ſentiments, Philip did not deſire that the Proteſtants ſhould come to the council. He believed that their preſence would ſerve only to perplex and retard its deliberations. He apprehended, that to ſuffer the decrees of the former ſeſſions to be again diſcuſſed, would contribute to invalidate the authority of the council itſelf: and for this reaſon he thought it neceſſary that the intended meeting ſhould be declared a continuation of the council which had formerly been prorogued.

In this matter Philip's ſentiments were entirely conformable to thoſe of the Pope; but Pius durſt not, on this occaſion, run the riſque of given offence either to the Emperor, or to the court of France; and therefore, after long deliberation, he couched the bull of convocation in ſuch ambiguous expreſſions, as might be interpreted to ſignify either a new council, or a continuation of the former. This expedient had, in ſome degree, the effect intended. Although neither of the parties was entirely ſatisfied, yet neither of them was ſo much diſguſted as either the one or the other would have been, if the terms had been explicit: and the bull was at length received by the Emperor and the French King, as well as by Philip, and the other Catholic princes; who all gave orders to the eccleſiaſtics

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ecclesiastics in their dominions to repair to Trent at the time appointed.

1560.

The Protestants refuse to attend the council.

In the bull, only Bishops, Abbots, and others entitled to vote by the rules and ancient practice of the church, were summoned to attend. But an invitation was carried to the several Protestant powers, by two nuncios, Martinengo and Commendone.

Their reasons.

The Protestant Princes in Germany were, on this occasion, assembled at Naumburg, in Upper Saxony; and to that place the Emperor sent three ambassadors, to second the nuncios in their invitation. To the Imperial ambassadors, the Princes replied in terms expressive of their respect for Ferdinand. They thanked him for the solicitude which he discovered in their behalf; and said, that nothing would be more agreeable to them than a general council, provided it were calculated to heal the divisions of the church. But no such desirable effect, they thought, could be expected from the council to which they were now invited; which was called by one whose authority they could not acknowledge; and in which (as appeared from the bull of convocation) only those were to have decisive voices, who had sworn allegiance to the Pope and the See of Rome.

The

THE nuncios however were brought in, and briefs were delivered by them from the Pope to each of the princes; but theſe briefs were on the next day returned unopened, with the following declaration: "That as they did not acknowledge any juriſdiction in the Biſhop of Rome, there was no reaſon why they ſhould explain to him their ſentiments of the council, which they had already done to the Emperor[c]."

1560.

FROM Naumburg the nuncios ſet out for England and Denmark; but they were obliged to ſtop ſhort, Martinengo in the Low Countries, and Commendone at Lubec; the latter having been forbid to proceed by Frederic, and the former by Elizabeth, both of whom had reſolved to give no encouragement to the intended council.

The council meets at Trent, and is governed by the Pope and his legates.

THE opinion which the Proteſtants entertained of the ſiniſter intentions of the Pope was fully juſtified by the event. In the very firſt decree of the firſt ſeſſion, when many of the prelates were not yet arrived, his legates, who preſided in this aſſembly, procured it to be enacted, that they only ſhould propoſe the ſeveral queſtions to be diſcuſſed; and thus they made at once effectual proviſion againſt

[c] Paul, lib. v.

all

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all attempts to correct any of the numberleſs abuſes in the court of Rome, for remedying which the meeting of the council had been deſired. Againſt this decree Philip and the other Princes remonſtrated in the moſt importunate manner, and employed their intereſt, both with the Pope and in the council, to procure the repeal of it. But all their endeavours were ineffectual. Their ſolicitude on this head ſerved only to confirm Pius in his ſuſpicions of their having formed a deſign to encroach on his authority. He eluded their applications with conſummate artifice, and ſent orders to the legates to make all the oppoſition in their power to any propoſal which might be made for annulling the decree.

Vain attempts to abridge the power of the Pope.

THIS did not prevent ſeveral of the prelates from endeavouring to perſuade the council to eſtabliſh certain points, ſuch as the divine inſtitution and the reſidency of Biſhops, which would have ſtruck deep at the root of the papal power. The Pope, from whom the legates received inſtructions on every difficult emergency, was kept in perpetual anxiety; and he ſometimes thought of ſuddenly diſſolving an aſſembly which he found ſo difficult to keep within the bounds that he preſcribed. But, by unremitted vigilance and attention, by threatening ſome prelates with his diſpleaſure, by flattering

flattering others, and heaping promiſes upon them of advancement in the church; and above all, by means of the great number of Italian biſhops[d], who depended entirely on his favour, he ſecured, in every queſtion, a majority of voices; and not only prevented any deciſion from being paſſed that might be detrimental to his authority, but procured the ratification of many of theſe eccleſiaſtical uſurpations which the princes, who had been ſo ſolicitous for the convocation of the council, had expected would have been aboliſhed and condemned. Theſe Princes were greatly diſappointed and chagrined. Their ambaſſadors, as well as the prelates, complained that the council, far from enjoying freedom, were fettered in all their deliberations by the ſecret orders which were daily ſent from Rome: and on this head, remonſtrances were made again and again to the Pope himſelf, who ſometimes vouchſafed a ſoft, evaſive reply; and at other times, appearing to be greatly offended, aſſerted that the council was at perfect liberty; and inſinuated, that the true ſource of all the diſcontent on this head was, that the ambaſſadors of the Princes had not the power of dictating the decrees.

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[d] Many of them were ſo poor, that he was obliged to defray the expences of their attendance.

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WHATEVER ground there was for this inſinuation, the deliberations of the council were conducted in the ſame manner as before, till at length Pius, grown impatient under the perpetual attention and expence which it required from him, ſent orders to his legates to bring it as ſoon as poſſible to a concluſion. And it was concluded accordingly, with the moſt indecent precipitation, towards the end of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-three, without any conſiderable oppoſition from the Princes, who had long deſpaired of deriving from it any of thoſe ſalutary effects which had been expected[c]. They perceived that the Pope's influence over it was not to be controlled; and foreſaw that the continuance of it muſt ſerve only to augment and ſtrengthen his authority, which it had been their intention to circumſcribe. Of this they had the moſt convincing evidence in the concluding ſeſſion, in which two decrees were paſſed that had not been mentioned before, and were manifeſtly deſigned as an acknowledgement of the ſubordination of the council to the Holy See. One of theſe was, That application ſhould be made to the Pope for his confirmation of the decrees; and

Concluſion of the council. 1563.

The laſt decrees.

[c] The acts were ſubſcribed by the 4 legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbiſhops, 268 biſhops, 7 abbots, 7 generals or regulars, and 39 proxies. Paul, lib. viii.

the

the other, That whatever expreſſions had been employed in any of the decrees, were to be underſtood without prejudice to the Pope's authority. 1563.

1564. The Pope's joy on this occaſion.

Pius rejoiced exceedingly when he was informed of the diſſolution of the council, and ſtill more when he received intelligence of theſe its laſt decrees. He ordained, on this occaſion, a ſolemn thankſgiving; and in the conſiſtory declared, that he would confirm all the decrees, and add many reformations to thoſe which had been enacted by the council. By theſe reformations, ſome of his courtiers apprehended that the profits ariſing from their offices would be diminiſhed; and they employed all their influence to diſſuade him from his purpoſe. Pius had no intention to introduce any alterations of which they had reaſon to be afraid; but he conſidered, that his refuſing to confirm the decrees would be interpreted as a condemnation of the council; that all its acts would be thereby brought into diſrepute; and that occaſion might thence be taken, by the French and others, to hold national aſſemblies. And he conſidered likewiſe, that it would depend entirely upon himſelf to determine, how far any particular decree ſhould be carried into execution. For theſe reaſons he diſregarded the objections of his courtiers, and publiſhed

His bull of confirmation.

BOOK V. 1564.

published his bull of confirmation, with the usual formalities; requiring all prelates and princes to receive and enforce the decrees of the holy council of Trent; prohibiting all persons, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, from writing any explication of them under the form of notes or commentaries; and commanding the Catholics every where to have recourse, in all dubious cases, to the Apostolic See.

Bad effects of the decrees of the council.

This bull was addressed only to the Catholics; for Pius did not expect that any greater regard would be paid to it by the Protestants than they had shewn to his bull of convocation. The whole conduct of the council had, from the beginning, been calculated to widen, instead of closing, that breach which subsisted between them and the Roman church. The ancient religion was now more clearly ascertained. Its doctrines, the offspring of subtle sophistry, artifice, and presumption, were formally defined; its rites, which had crept into the church in the dark ages of ignorance and superstition, were now made an essential part of worship; and anathemas were pronounced against all persons by whom either the former or the latter were not embraced. By this impolitic conduct the Protestants were more clearly instructed where to direct their attack; and in those absurdities, into which men must fall

fall who venture to dogmatiſe on ſubjects ſo myſterious as many articles of the Chriſtian faith, they often found abundant matter of victory and triumph. No conceſſions of any kind had been made by the council, in order to reconcile them; but all their doctrines had been indiſcriminately condemned; and henceforth all ground of hope was cut off of ever inducing them to return into the boſom of the church, by any other means but by open force and perſecution. 1564.

The decrees rejected by the court of France.

Pius flattered himſelf that theſe means would ſooner or later prove effectual; and was therefore little concerned at the conduct of the Proteſtants with reſpect to the council. He was much more deeply affected by the ill-humour which the Queen-mother and miniſters of France diſcovered on the preſent occaſion. They had been ſomewhat diſguſted at the little regard that had been ſhewn to their deſire of having the council declared to be a new council. They were diſpleaſed with the decrees of reformation, by ſome of which the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was extended beyond its former bounds; and they were highly diſſatisfied with the tacit acknowledgement contained in the concluding decrees, of the ſuperiority of the Pope above councils; an opinion which in France had been always impugned

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and rejected. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, and deſirous at the ſame time of avoiding to give any freſh occaſion of diſcontent to the Calviniſts, the French court (although earneſtly ſolicited by Pius) refuſed to receive and publiſh the decrees[f].

They are accepted by Philip, and other Catholic Princes.

Pius had reaſon to apprehend that the example of ſo great a monarchy would be imitated by the other Catholic powers. But he had the pleaſure of receiving information from his nuncios, that not only the Republic of Venice, and the ſeveral Italian Princes, but moſt of the Catholic Princes in Germany, and the King of Spain, had reſolved to acknowledge the authority of the council.

In forming this reſolution, Philip gave a ſtriking proof of that zeal which he ſo uniformly felt, or affected, for the Catholic religion and the Holy See. No Prince was ever more jealous of his power, or more tenacious of his rights; upon ſome of which, encroachments had been made in the decrees of reformation. During the celebration of the council, he had complained loudly of the dependence in which it was held by the Pope; he had again and again endeavoured, but in vain, to get that firſt

[f] Father Paul, lib. v, vi, vii, viii.

decree

decree reſcinded, by which the legates alone could propoſe the queſtions to be diſcuſſed; and he had likewiſe been highly offended with the Pope's precipitate diſſolution of the council, in which meaſure he had neither been conſulted, nor had any delay been granted at his ambaſſador's requeſt. To theſe cauſes of alienation, Pius added another, which might have been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences, by determining a diſpute for precedence between the Spaniſh and French ambaſſadors at Rome, in favour of the latter. To decide this point, which was of ſo delicate a nature, at ſo critical a juncture, the Pontiff was induced, partly by the hopes of prevailing on the court of France to receive the decrees of the council, and partly by his dread, that, if the young King were not gratified in this matter, his counſellors would adviſe him to break off all connection with Rome, and to commit the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical authority in the kingdom to a patriarch of his own election.

Diſpute of precedence between the ambaſſadors of France and Spain, decided in favour of France.

Pius ordered his nuncio to explain theſe motives to the Catholic King, and ſpared no pains to convince him of the neceſſity of the ſtep which he had taken; nor were his endeavours altogether ineffectual. Philip did not, indeed, for ſome time ſend any ambaſſador to Rome in the place of Don Louis de Requeſens,

BOOK V. 1564. who left it when the point of precedence was decided; but being determined, if poſſible, to live on amicable terms with the Holy See, he reſolved to ſtifle his reſentment. Nor did he ſuffer it to influence his conduct with regard to the decrees of the council, which, although they were not entirely conformable to his wiſhes, yet would contribute, he believed, in ſome meaſure, to prevent the progreſs of hereſy; and therefore he iſſued orders, without heſitation, to have them received and obeyed throughout all his dominions[s]. July.

[s] Cabrera, lib. vi. c. 16. Pallavicini, lib. xxiv. cap. 12.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK VI.

PHILIP's attention was, ſoon after this, called to objects of a very different nature from thoſe by which, during the ſitting of the council, it had been engroſſed. The ſucceſs of his enterpriſe againſt Pennon de Velez having given great uneaſineſs to all the piratical ſtates, they had endeavoured to engage the Sultan to undertake the recovery of that fort; and had intreated him to employ ſuch a fleet and army as might be ſufficient to expel the Spaniards from the coaſt of Africa. Solyman was at the ſame time earneſtly ſolicited by great numbers of his ſubjects, to take vengeance on the Knights of Malta, who, beſides co-operating with the Spaniards in all their African

1565. Hoſtile intentions of the Sultan againſt Philip and the Knights of Malta.

BOOK VI. 1565.

African expeditions, ſtill continued to exerciſe their wonted hoſtilities againſt the Turks at ſea, and had of late made innumerable captures.

THIS Prince was of himſelf as much incenſed both againſt the former and the latter of theſe his enemies, as any of his ſubjects could deſire; and notwithſtanding his great age, he was inflamed as much as ever with the ambition of extending his dominions. He therefore lent a willing ear to the ſolicitations which he now received; and having ſuſpended all his other purſuits, he reſolved to turn his whole attention againſt the Malteſe and Spaniards. But he heſitated whether he ſhould begin his operations with invading Malta, or the dominions of the Catholic King; and to aſſiſt him in deciding this point, he held a council of his moſt experienced commanders.

MAHOMET, the oldeſt and wiſeſt of all his Baſhas, was of opinion, that it would be highly inexpedient to begin with invading Malta; in ſubduing which, he ſaid, the Sultan would find infinitely greater difficulty than he had encountered formerly in the conqueſt of Rhodes. The latter of theſe iſlands, he obſerved, lay at ſo great a diſtance from Europe, as had made it almoſt impoſſible for the Chriſtians to ſend aſſiſtance to the beſieged; and was beſides ſo large

large and fertile as to furniſh ſubſiſtence to the Turkiſh troops. Whereas the former was ſmall and barren; ſo far from the Porte, and ſo near to Sicily and Italy, that the Knights could eaſily receive from thence perpetual ſuccours and ſupplies. The King of Spain was deeply concerned in their preſervation; and he, and other Chriſtian princes, would, from religion as well as intereſt, think themſelves bound to ſupport an order of men whom they had long regarded as the champions of their faith. The Knights would defend their iſland with the utmoſt obſtinacy. And even although the Sultan ſhould at laſt get poſſeſſion of it, yet a new cruſade would be formed by the Chriſtians for its recovery, and the Turkiſh fleet would be deſtroyed in the harbours, before it could be put into a poſture of defence. Sicily, he thought, would be a much eaſier and more certain conqueſt. The reduction of that iſland would conduce more to the Sultan's glory, as well as to the intereſt of his empire; and it would be quickly followed by the reduction of the Knights of Malta, who could not ſubſiſt a ſingle ſeaſon without thoſe continual ſupplies of proviſion which that more fertile region afforded them.

BOOK VI. 1565.

A PRINCE of ſo great penetration as Soliman could not be inſenſible of the weight of theſe

Solyman reſolves to begin with the ſiege of Malta.

BOOK VI. 1565.

theſe conſiderations; but having been long accuſtomed to triumph over much more formidable enemies than the Knights of Malta, and having formerly expelled the Knights themſelves from Aſia, when their power was more conſiderable than at preſent, he believed that they could not long reſiſt his victorious arms. In this confidence of ſucceſs he was confirmed by moſt of the Baſhas, who choſe rather to flatter his inclinations at the expence of his intereſt, than to run the riſk of incurring his diſpleaſure. His reſentment againſt the Knights was greatly heightened at this time by the capture of a rich galleon belonging to ſome of his greateſt favourites in the Seraglio. Theſe perſons exerted all their influence to procure a ſpeedy vengeance, and contributed to determine the Sultan to open the campaign with the ſiege of Malta; after the conqueſt of which he reſolved to turn his arms againſt the King of Spain.

His preparations.

HAVING thus fixed his purpoſe, he iſſued orders for equipping all the ſhips in his empire with the utmoſt expedition; ſent a great number of troops to the ſea-ports in the Morea, where he intended they ſhould embark; and deſired Haſcem and Draguſ, his Viceroys in Algiers and Tripoli, to hold their Corſairs ready to join his fleet when it ſhould arrive at Malta.

Malta. He gave the command of the fleet to Piali, and that of the land forces to Muſtapha, an experienced general, at the age of ſixty-five, who had acquired his eſteem and confidence by ſeveral victories which he had obtained in Aſia. To theſe men he recommended ſtrongly the acting in concert with each other; and required them to conſult in every matter of importance with Dragut, whom he regarded as the ableſt naval officer in his dominions. BOOK VI. 1565.

THE news of his preparations ſoon reached the ſeveral Chriſtian powers on the coaſt of the Mediterranean. But they were for ſome time in doubt where the ſtorm which was gathering would burſt. At length John de la Valette Pariſot, the Grand-maſter of Malta, received certain information of Solyman's deſign, from ſpies whom he employed at Conſtantinople. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the King of Spain, the Pope, and moſt of the other Chriſtian Princes; and repreſented to them the neceſſity of granting their aſſiſtance at the preſent criſis, if they would ſave from ruin an order of men whoſe bravery had for ages paſt been continually exerted in the protection of Chriſtians of every nation in Europe, againſt the implacable enemy of the Chriſtian name. LaValette the grand-maſter of Malta.

BOOK VI.

1565. Philip's reſolution to ſupport the Knight.

But although the ſubjects of almoſt every Chriſtian ſtate had, on numberleſs occaſions, been ſupported by their generoſity, and protected, or reſcued from ſlavery, by their intrepid valour, yet only ſuch princes thought it incumbent on them to intereſt themſelves in their behalf whoſe territories lay expoſed to immediate danger. Of theſe no one had ſo much ground to dread the conſequences of ſuffering the Knights to be overwhelmed, as the King of Spain. For beſides that his dominions were more expoſed, he was much more obnoxious to the Sultan, than any other Chriſtian monarch. He had repeatedly committed hoſtilities againſt the African Corſairs, whom Solyman had taken under his protection; and he could not call in queſtion the intelligence tranſmitted to him by the Grand-maſter, that as the Turkiſh armament was to be ſent firſt againſt the Knights, it would be employed next againſt himſelf. Philip had ever looked on Malta as his principal bulwark againſt the invaſions of the Turks; and he was ſenſible that he had now more reaſon than ever to conſider it in that view. Prompted by theſe motives, he reſolved to exert himſelf with vigour in its defence; and having written to his miniſters and allies in Italy to form an army of twenty thouſand men, which ſhould be ready to embark on the ſhorteſt

ſhorteſt notice, he aſſembled a numerous fleet at Meſſina, and ſent inſtructions to Don Garcia de Toledo, the Viceroy of Sicily, to watch over the preſervation of Malta with the ſame ſolicitude as if Sicily itſelf were to be attacked. BOOK VI. 1565.

The Grand-maſter's activity and vigilance.

The zeal with which Philip eſpouſed the cauſe of the Knights, delivered them from their anxiety with regard to the final iſſue of the war, but did not prevent the Grand-maſter from exerting his activity and vigilance in preparing for a vigorous defence. Beſides ſending a general ſummons to the Knights diſperſed throughout the ſeveral provinces in Europe, to repair inſtantly to Malta, he diſtributed all the inhabitants of the iſland capable of bearing arms into companies, and appointed the Knights to train them in the ſeveral branches of military diſcipline. He cauſed two thouſand troops to be levied by his agents in Italy, and kept all the ſhips belonging to the Order, perpetually employed in importing arms, military ſtores, and proviſions.

In obedience to his ſummons, all the Knights haſtened to his aſſiſtance, except ſuch as were prevented by age or infirmities; and theſe ſupplied their perſonal ſervices, by ſending him all the money which they could raiſe out of the effects belonging to their convents. Before

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the arrival of the enemy, he reviewed his forces, and found that they amounted to ſeven hundred Knights and eight thouſand five hundred ſoldiers, including two companies of Spaniards which were ſent to him from Sicily. Theſe troops, after a ſolemn religious proceſſion, and partaking of the holy ſacrament, he diſtributed among the Knights; and aſſigned to all of them their proper ſtations. In the midſt of the multiplicity of affairs which demanded his attention, there was nothing omitted which human prudence could provide. He was continually employed either in viſiting the poſts, or examining the ſtores, or ſtrengthening the fortifications, or inſtructing the officers as to the conduct proper to be obſerved in caſe of an attack. The wiſdom diſplayed in his plan of defence, inſpired his troops with confidence; and his tranquillity and fortitude communicated to them an elevation of mind, which rendered them ſuperior to every calamity that could befal them.

Arrival of the Turks at Malta under Muſtapha and Piali.

AT length the Turkiſh fleet having left Conſtantinople in the end of March, arrived in ſight of Malta about the middle of May; conſiſting of more than two hundred ſail, and having on board, beſides a great number of Chriſtian ſlaves, deſigned to ſerve as pioneers, above forty thouſand land forces, compoſed chiefly of

of Janiſſaries and Spahis, the braveſt ſoldiers of the Ottoman empire. This formidable army landed at ſome diſtance from Il Borgo[a], and ſoon afterwards ſpread themſelves over the country; ſetting fire to the villages, putting the peaſants to the ſword, and carrying off ſuch of the cattle, as, notwithſtanding the orders of the Grand-maſter, had not been ſecured within the forts and towns.

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WHILE the Turks were thus employed, La Valette ſent out De Copier, marſhal of the order, with two hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot, to watch their motions. De Copier, an officer of great experience, executed his commiſſion with ſo much prudence and vigour, that by falling unexpectedly on detached parties, he cut off one thouſand five hundred of the Turks, with the loſs of only about eighty men. But La Valette intended, by permitting theſe ſkirmiſhes, only to make trial of his troops, and to accuſtom them to the looks and ſhouts of the enemy. He conſidered, that even ſo ſmall a loſs as was occaſioned by theſe rencounters, was more than he could eaſily ſupport. He therefore recalled De Copier, and ſent the ſoldiers and Knights under his command to their reſpective poſts.

[a] The town, where the ſtrength of the order was concentered.

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1565. The ſiege of St. Elmo.

THE Turkiſh General held a council of war as ſoon as all his troops were landed, to aſſiſt him in reſolving where he ſhould begin his attack. Piali, agreeably to what he underſtood to have been the Sultan's inſtructions, was of opinion that they ought not to enter upon action till Dragut ſhould arrive. But Muſtapha, having received information of the King of Spain's preparations, thought that ſomething muſt be done inſtantly for the ſecurity of the fleet; which lay at preſent in a creek where it was expoſed to the violence of the eaſt wind, and might be attacked with great advantage by the Spaniards. On this account he was of opinion, that they ſhould immediately lay ſiege to a fort called St. Elmo, which ſtood on a neck of land near Il Borgo, having the principal harbour on one ſide of it, and on the other, another harbour large enough to contain the whole fleet in ſafety. This propoſal was approved by a majority of the council, and Muſtapha proceeded without delay to carry it into execution. He vainly expected that he would be able to reduce the fort in a few days. But beſides the valour with which it was defended, there were two circumſtances which greatly augmented the difficulty of his enterpriſe; one of theſe was, that the garriſon could eaſily receive ſupplies from the town, acroſs the great harbour, which was ſecured by two forts, called St. Angelo

Difficulties attending the ſiege.

St. Angelo and St. Michael, or La Sangle; and the other, that his approaches to the fort were retarded by the nature of the road leading to it, which was either a bare rock, or the rock thinly covered with a ſtony ſoil. This laſt inconvenience he remedied, by ſubſtituting in the place of trenches a parapet formed of planks and beams, covered on the ſide towards the fort with earth, which they brought from a diſtance, and mixed with ſtraw and ruſhes. By this invention he was enabled to open a battery mounted with his largeſt cannon, on the ſixth or ſeventh day after his arrival on the iſland; and he quickly convinced the governor, the bailiff of Negropont, that it would be impoſſible for him to hold out long. Of this the Governor gave immediate information to the Grand-maſter, and made choice of a Knight of the name of La Cerda for his meſſenger. This man, greatly diſturbed by fear, exaggerated the danger which he had been ſent to repreſent, and had the imprudence to tell the Grand-maſter, in the preſence of many of the knights, that he muſt not expect that the place would ſuſtain the ſiege above a week longer. "And what loſs," ſaid La Valette, "have you received that makes you ſo ſoon deſpair?" "The fort," replied La Cerda, "is to be conſidered as a ſick perſon, greatly reduced, who muſt receive continual remedies and ſupplies."

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St. Elmo thought untenable by the garriſon.

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"I myſelf," anſwered the Grand-maſter with great indignation, "will be the phyſician; and will bring others along with me, who, if they cannot cure you of your fear, will at leaſt preſerve the fort from falling into the hands of the infidels."

The Grand-maſter's reaſons for defending it to the laſt.

LA VALETTE did not expect that a place which was neither ſtrong, nor large enough to admit a numerous garriſon, could be defended long againſt ſo great a force as was employed to reduce it; but he thought it neceſſary that the ſiege of this fort ſhould be prolonged as much as poſſible, in order to give the Viceroy of Sicily time to come to his relief. With this view he reſolved to throw himſelf into St. Elmo with a ſelect body of troops; and he was preparing to ſet out when the whole body of knights remonſtrated with ſuch earneſt importunity againſt his leaving the town, that he at laſt conſented to ſuffer the reinforcement which he had prepared, to be conducted to the fort by a Knight called De Medran, upon whoſe conduct and intrepidity he could rely with the moſt aſſured confidence.

Progreſs of the ſiege.

NOT long after De Medran's arrival in the fort, the garriſon made a vigorous ſally, in which they drove the enemy from their intrenchments, and put a number of them to the

the ſword. But the reſt ſoon recovered from their ſurpriſe; and having returned to the charge, they compelled the Chriſtians to retire. In this rencounter, the vigorous efforts of the Janiſſaries were favoured by the wind, which blew the ſmoke of the guns upon the fort, and covered the beſieged with a thick cloud, through which it was impoſſible to diſcern the operations of the enemy. This incident the Turks had the preſence of mind to improve to great advantage. They ſeized, unperceived, upon the counterſcarp, made a lodgment there with beams, woolſacks, and gabions; and raiſed a battery upon it with incredible expedition. After the ſmoke was diſperſed, the beſieged beheld what had been done with much aſtoniſhment; and they were the more diſquieted, as the fortification which the Turks had raiſed upon the counterſcarp, overtopped a ravelin which lay near it, in which the beſieged could no longer appear with ſafety. They reſolved, however, to defend this ravelin as long as poſſible, whatever it ſhould coſt them.

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In the mean time Dragut and another noted Corſair called Uluchiali arrived with twenty gallies, having, beſides ſlaves and ſeamen, two thouſand five hundred troops on board. This reinforcement and the preſence of Dragut

Arrival of Dragut.

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added freſh vigour to the operations of the ſiege. This gallant Corſair expoſed himſelf on all occaſions with the utmoſt intrepidity; ſpent whole days in the trenches; and as, beſides his other extraordinary talents, he was particularly ſkilful in the management of artillery, he cauſed ſome new batteries to be raiſed in more advantageous ſituations than had hitherto been made choice of; and kept up a continual fire both upon the ravelin above mentioned, and a cavalier that covered the fort, and was one of its principal defences.

Progreſs of the ſiege.

THIS cavalier ſoon became the only defence which could prevent the beſiegers from coming up to the very foot of the wall. Some Turkiſh engineers having approached the ravelin at day-break, to examine the effects of their artillery, they obſerved a gun-port ſo low, that one of them, when mounted on the ſhoulders of another, looked into it, and ſaw the Chriſtian ſoldiers lying on the ground aſleep. Of this they gave immediate information to the troops; who, advancing as quickly and ſilently as poſſible, and clapping ladders to the gun-hole, got up into the ravelin, and cut moſt of the Chriſtians to pieces.

BETWEEN this ravelin and the cavalier lay the ditch, over which the beſieged had thrown a tem-

a temporary bridge of planks, leading up to the cavalier. The Turks perceiving this, leapt inſtantly upon the bridge, and attempted to make themſelves maſters of the cavalier, as they had already done of the ravelin. But the garriſon was now alarmed; the braveſt of the Knights haſtened from different quarters to the poſt of danger; and, after an obſtinate engagement, they compelled the Turks to retire into the ravelin. There the Janiſſaries obſerving another way of reaching the cavalier, by a path from the bottom of the ditch, they threw themſelves down without dread or heſitation; and having aſcended by this path to the other ſide, they renewed their attack with greater fury than ever. The combat laſted from ſun-riſe till noon, when the invincible bravery of the garriſon proved at laſt victorious. About twenty Knights and a hundred ſoldiers were killed, and near three thouſand of the enemy. BOOK VI. 1565.

As the ravelin was open on the ſide towards the fort, the beſieged pointed ſome cannon againſt it, and made great havoc among the Infidels. But Muſtapha, ſenſible of the value of the acquiſition which he had made, poured in freſh ſoldiers without number; and the pioneers coming forward with wool-ſacks, planks, and gabions, put the troops at length in ſafety, and made a lodgment in the ravelin,

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of which the garriſon were never able to diſpoſſeſs them.

THE Grand-maſter's concern on account of this diſaſter was greatly augmented by conſidering that it could not have happened ſo ſoon, without ſome negligence on the part of the garriſon. He ſent them however an immediate reinforcement; but both the ſiege and the defence were carried on with the ſame vigour as before.

The diſtreſs of the garriſon.

BUT the ſituation of the beſieged was now become much more dangerous than formerly. The Turks applied themſelves with unremitting diligence to heighten the ravelin till it overtopped the wall of the fort; and after this, the garriſon could no longer appear upon the parapet with ſafety. Many were killed by the enemy's artillery. Several breaches were made in different parts of the wall, and the hearts of the braveſt Knights began to fail within them. They apprehended that ere long the Turkiſh General would attempt to take the fort by ſtorm, and they dreaded that it would be impoſſible for ſo ſmall a number to reſiſt ſo numerous an enemy.

They apply for liberty to quit the fort.

THEY agreed, therefore, though with much reluctance, to apply to the Grand-maſter for liberty to quit the fort; and they made choice of

of the Chevalier De Medran for their meſſenger. De Medran repreſented that the fort was in reality no longer tenable, and that to continue in it, though only a few days, would infallibly occaſion the utter deſtruction of the garriſon. That nothing could be of greater advantage to the Turks than ſending the forces of the Order to a place where there were no fortifications to defend them; that by ſo doing, the troops neceſſary for the defence of the other fortreſſes would ſoon be conſumed, and theſe fortreſſes become an eaſy prey to the enemy. But he concluded with ſaying, that, although this was the opinion of all the garriſon, he was commiſſioned to declare to the Grand-maſter, that whatever reſolution he ſhould form, they were determined to yield an implicit obedience to his authority. 1565.

Most of the Knights in council thought that this requeſt of the garriſon ought to be immediately granted. But La Valette was of a contrary opinion. The fort, he acknowledged, would not probably hold out much longer; and he lamented the fate of thoſe gallant Knights and ſoldiers who were ſtationed in ſo perilous a ſituation. But there were caſes, he ſaid, in which it was neceſſary to ſacrifice ſome of the members for the preſervation of the Body; and ſuch he knew to be the preſent critical

Refuſed by the Grand-maſter.

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critical ſtate of their affairs. For he was credibly informed that the Sicilian Viceroy had declared, that if the fort of St. Elmo were loſt, (as he could not then attack the Turks with the ſame advantage as at preſent,) he would not expoſe his fleet to the riſk of a defeat for the ſake of the reſt of the iſland. And on this account La Valette ſubjoined, that the preſervation of the Order depended almoſt entirely on the length of the preſent ſiege. This he repreſented to the Chevalier De Medran, and ſent him back with inſtructions to remind the Knights of the vow which they took at their entrance into the Order, of ſacrificing their lives for its defence. He likewiſe bade him aſſure them, in his name, that he would not fail to ſend them ſuch reinforcements as they ſhould ſtand in need of, and was determined, as ſoon as it ſhould be neceſſary, to come himſelf to their aſſiſtance, with a fixed, unalterable purpoſe to lay down his life ſooner than deliver the fort into the hands of the Infidels.

THIS anſwer had the deſired effect on ſeveral of the Knights, and particularly on thoſe whoſe principles of honour and attachment to the Order were confirmed by years. But the greater part of them were much diſſatisfied. They thought the Grand-maſter's treatment

of them harſh and cruel, and wrote him a letter, ſubſcribed by fifty-three, in which, after repeating their former requeſt, they informed him, that if he did not, on the next night, ſend boats to carry them to the town, they were determined to ſally out into the Turkiſh camp, where they might fall honourably by the ſword, inſtead of ſuffering ſuch an ignominious death as they had reaſon to expect, if the fort were taken by ſtorm. BOOK VI. 1565.

To this letter La Valette replied, "That they were much miſtaken, if they expected to ſatisfy their honour by throwing away their lives; ſince it was no leſs their duty to ſubmit to his authority, than to ſacrifice their lives in defence of the Order: that the preſervation of the whole depended on their preſent obedience to his commands: that no aid was to be expected from Spain, if the fort were given up; and that if he ſhould yield to their requeſt, and bring them to the town, the town itſelf would then be immediately inveſted, and they, as well as the reſt, ſoon afterwards reduced to a ſituation more deſperate than that from which they were ſo ſolicitous to eſcape, by deſerting an important ſtation which they had undertaken to defend." Beſides this letter, he ſent three commiſſioners to examine the ſtate of the fortifications; intending by this

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this meaſure, either to gain time, or to prevent the garriſon from ſinking into deſpair.

THESE commiſſioners differ widely in the accounts which they delivered at their return. Two of them thought it impoſſible to defend the fort much longer. But the third named Conſtantine Caſtriot, a Greek Prince, deſcended from the famous Albanian hero, Sanderbeg, whether from ignorance, or conſciouſneſs of greater reſources in his native courage than the other two poſſeſſed, maintained that the garriſon was far from being reduced to the laſt extremity; and to give proof how firmly he was perſuaded of the truth of what he ſaid, he offered to enter the fort himſelf, and to undertake the defence of it with ſuch troops as ſhould be willing to accompany him.

THE Grand-maſter, ſtrongly impreſſed with a ſenſe of the neceſſity of protracting the ſiege, immediately accepted this offer, and beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on Caſtriot's zeal and reſolution. Nor did Caſtriot find any difficulty in perſuading a ſufficient number to attend him, who were no leſs zealous and reſolute than himſelf. The ſoldiers crowded to his ſtandard, and were emulous to have their names inrolled for that dangerous ſervice in which he had engaged.

WHEN

WHEN La Valette ſaw the ſpirit by which theſe men were animated, and had no longer any doubt of being able, by their means, to prolong the ſiege of the fort, he ſent a letter to the Knights, acquainting them that he was now willing to give them their diſcharge; and would immediately ſend another garriſon, into whoſe hands, he deſired, they ſhould be ready to deliver up the fort, and come themſelves to the town in the boats in which their ſucceſſors were to be tranſported. "You, my brethren," continued he, "may be in greater ſafety here than in your preſent ſituation; and I ſhall then feel leſs anxiety for the preſervation of the fort, although I think it of ſo great importance, that on the preſervation of it, that of our Order ſeems entirely to depend." 1565.

THE contents and ſtyle of this letter affected the Knights in the moſt ſenſible manner, and rouſed within them that delicate ſenſe of honour, by which the Order had been ſo long and ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. They dreaded the reception which they were about to meet with from the Grand-maſter and the other Knights: "And ſhould this new garriſon," ſaid they to each other, "which is appointed to ſucceed us, be fortunate enough to hold out till the Spaniards arrive, in what corner of the earth ſhall we conceal our infamy?" They reſolved

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reſolved without heſitation to remain in the fort till every man ſhould periſh, rather than either deliver it to the new garriſon, or abandon it to enemy. And they went in a body to the Governor, and intreated him to inform the Grand-maſter of their repentance, and to join with them in praying that they might be ſuffered to wipe out the remembrance of their fault by their future conduct.

THE Governor readily complied; and, in order to prevent the new garriſon from ſetting out in the night, he diſpatched his letter by a noted ſwimmer before it was dark. La Valette ſecretly rejoiced at this application; but ſent word to the Governor, that he muſt always prefer even a body of new troops to the moſt experienced warriors, who had refuſed to ſubmit to the controul of military diſcipline. When this anſwer was reported to the Knights, they were overwhelmed with anguiſh, and had recourſe to the moſt ſubmiſſive intreaties of forgiveneſs. The Grand-maſter ſuffered himſelf at laſt to be overcome; and henceforth the garriſon, diſmiſſing all thoughts of their own ſafety, were intent on nothing but how to prolong the defence.

THE Grand-maſter ſent them every night freſh troops, to ſupply the place of the killed and

and wounded; and kept them well furniſhed with proviſions, ammunition, and fire-works. Of theſe laſt he had invented a particular kind, which conſiſted of hoops of wood, covered with wool, and ſteeped in boiling oil, and other inflammable liquors, mixed with nitre and gun-powder. To theſe machines they ſet fire, and threw them flaming in the midſt of the enemy, when they were crowded together at an aſſault. It happened often that two or three of the Turks were hooked together and ſcorched to death; and the utmoſt confuſion was produced wherever the hoops were thrown. 1565.

The invincible bravery of the garriſon.

THE beſieged ſtood much in need of theſe, and every other inſtrument of miſchief, that could be deviſed for their defence. In ſpite of the moſt vigorous oppoſition, the Turks had caſt a bridge over the ditch, and begun to ſap and undermine the wall. From the ſeventeenth of June to the fourteenth of July, not a ſingle day paſſed without ſome rencounter; and Muſtapha had frequently attempted to ſcale the wall of the fort, but had been as often repulſed with the loſs of ſome of the braveſt of his troops.

ASHAMED at having been detained ſo long before a place of ſuch inconſiderable ſtrength, he reſolved to make one great deciſive effort, and

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and to bring to the aſſault as many of his forces as the ſituation of the place would permit him to employ. He had already made ſeveral breaches: but in order to ſecure the ſucceſs of the aſſault which he now intended, he kept his batteries playing all the fifteenth without intermiſſion, till the wall on that ſide where he deſigned his attack was almoſt level with the rock. On the ſixteenth the fleet was drawn up before ſun-riſe as near the fort as the depth of the water would allow; four thouſand muſketeers and archers were ſtationed in the trenches; and the reſt of the troops, upon a ſignal given, advanced to the breach. The garriſon was prepared to receive them. The breach was lined with ſeveral ranks of ſoldiers, having the Knights interſperſed among them at certain diſtances. The Turks attempted often to break through this determined band, and to overpower them with their numbers. But their numbers ſerved only to augment the loſs which they ſuſtained. Every ſhot from the fort did execution. The artillery made dreadful havoc among them, and the burning hoops were employed with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs. The novelty of theſe machines, and the ſhrieks of thoſe who were caught in them, added greatly to the terror which they inſpired, and made it impoſſible for the Turkiſh officers to keep their men firm and ſteady in purſuing the advantages which, had

had they preſerved their ranks, their numbers must have infallibly ſecured. BOOK VI. 1565.

At length Muſtapha, after having continued the aſſault for more than ſix hours, without gaining a ſingle inch of ground on the beſieged, gave orders for ſounding a retreat.

In this attack the garriſon loſt about twenty Knights and three hundred ſoldiers; but this loſs was immediately ſupplied by a reinforcement from the town: and Muſtapha was at laſt convinced, that, unleſs the communication between the fort and the town were cut off, it would be impoſſible to bring the ſiege of the former to a period, while any troops remained in any other part of the iſland. By the advice of Dragut he reſolved to extend his trenches and batteries, on the ſide next to the town, till they ſhould reach to that part of the ſea, or great harbour, where thoſe ſupplies were landed which the Grand-maſter daily ſent to the garriſon. This undertaking, he knew, muſt be attended with the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe all the ſpace between his entrenchments and the point to which it was neceſſary to extend them, lay expoſed to the artillery both of Fort St. Elmo and St. Angelo. In viewing the ground, a Sangiac, in whom he put confidence, was killed by his ſide;

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and, which was ſtill a more irreparable loſs, Dragut received a mortal wound, of which he died in a few days [b]. This did not however diſcourage Muſtapha from purſuing his deſign. By employing his troops and pioneers at the work day and night without intermiſſion, he at length carried it into execution. Then having planted batteries along the ſhore, and filled his trenches with muſketeers, it was impoſſible for any boat to paſs from the town to the fort, without the moſt imminent danger of either being ſunk or intercepted.

Dragut killed.

The garriſon reduced to the laſt extremity.

AFTER this precaution, he reſumed with freſh vigour his attempt to take the fort by ſtorm. On the twenty-firſt, he made four different aſſaults; all of which the garriſon withſtood, and, in repulſing ſo many thouſand brave and well-diſciplined troops, diſplayed a degree of proweſs and fortitude which almoſt exceeds belief, and is beyond the power of deſcription. But this heroic garriſon was now exceedingly reduced in number; and there was the ſtrongeſt reaſon to apprehend, that, in one aſſault more, they muſt inevitably be overpowered, unleſs a reinforcement were were ſent them from the town. Of their de-

[b] He was wounded in the head by the ſplinters of a ſtone, which was beat to pieces by a cannon-ſhot from Fort St. Angelo.

ſperate

ſperate ſituation they gave intelligence to the Grand-maſter, by one who ſwam acroſs the harbour in the night. The boats were inſtantly filled with Knights and other ſoldiers, who generouſly reſolved to devote themſelves to certain deſtruction, for the general ſafety and the preſervation of the fort. They ſet off from the town with as much alacrity as if they had entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of victory; but they found the Turks every where ſo much upon their guard, and the lines ſo ſtrongly defended, that, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to land, they were at laſt obliged to return, depreſſed with ſorrow for the fate of their brave companions. 1565.

THE garriſon now deſpairing of relief, gave themſelves up for loſt; but inſtead of their capitulating, or attempting to eſcape, they prepared for death, and paſſed the night in prayer, and in receiving the ſacrament; after which, they embraced one another tenderly, and then repaired to their reſpective poſts; while ſuch of the wounded as had been diſabled from walking, were, at their own earneſt deſire, carried to the ſide of the breach, where they waited, without diſmay, for the approach of the Turkiſh army.

EARLY in the morning of the twenty-third of July, the Turks advanced to the aſſault, with loud

St. Elmo taken by aſſault.

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loud ſhouts as to certain victory, which they believed ſo ſmall a handful of men as now remained in the fort would not dare to diſpute with them. In this expectation they were diſappointed. The garriſon being reſolved on death, and deſpiſing danger, were more than men, and exerted a degree of proweſs and valour that filled their enemies with amazement. The combat laſted upwards of four hours, till not only every Knight, but every ſoldier had fallen, except two or three who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. The Turkiſh colours were then planted on the ramparts; and the fleet entered the harbour which the fort commanded in a kind of triumph. When Muſtapha took a view of the fort, and examined its ſize and fortifications, he could not refrain from ſaying, "What will not the father coſt us, (meaning the town,) when the ſon, who is ſo ſmall, has coſt ſo many thouſands[c] of our braveſt troops?" But this reflection, far from exciting his admiration of that heroic fortitude which he had found ſo difficult to overcome, ſerved only to inſpire him with a brutal fury. He ordered all ſuch of the garriſon as were found lying on the beach alive, to be ripped open, and their hearts torn out. And as an inſult on the Knights and their religion, he cauſed their dead bodies to be

[c] Eight thouſand.

ſearched

ſearched for and large gaſhes to be made in them, in the form of a croſs, after which he tied them on planks, and threw them into the ſea, to be carried by the wind and tide to the town, or Fort St. Angelo. 1565.

THE Grand-maſter was at firſt melted into tears at this ſhocking ſpectacle; but his grief was ſoon converted into indignation and revenge; and theſe paſſions betrayed him into an action unworthy of the exalted character which he bore. In order to teach the Baſha, as he pretended, to make war with leſs barbarity, he cauſed all the Turks whom he had taken priſoners to be maſſacred; and then, putting their heads into his largeſt cannon, he ſhot them into the Turkiſh camp.

IN the ſiege which has been related, the Order loſt about one thouſand five hundred men, including one hundred and thirty of the braveſt Knights. The Grand-maſter was deeply affected at ſo great a loſs; but he wiſely diſſembled his concern, and wearing ſtill the ſame magnanimous and intrepid aſpect as before, he inſpired all the troops that remained, with a fixed, unalterable reſolution, to defend the town and the other forts to the laſt extremity.

MUSTAPHA vainly imagined, that, being

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intimidated by the fate of their companions, they would be now inclined to liſten to terms of capitulation; and in this hope he ſent an officer with a white flag to one of the gates, attended by a Chriſtian ſlave, deſigned to ſerve for his interpreter. The Turk was not allowed to enter within the town; but the Chriſtian was admitted, and was led through ſeveral ranks of ſoldiers under arms by an officer, who, after ſhewing him all the fortifications of the place, deſired him to take particular notice of the depth and breadth of the ditch, and ſaid to him, "See there, the only ſpot we can afford your General; and there we hope ſoon to bury him and all his Janiſſaries."

Siege of Il Borgo and Fort St. Michael.

THIS inſulting ſpeech being reported by the ſlave, excited in the fiery mind of the Baſha the higheſt degree of wrath and indignation, and made him reſolve to exert himſelf to the utmoſt in the proſecution of the ſiege. His troops, though greatly diminiſhed, were ſtill ſufficient to inveſt at once both the town and the fort of St. Michael [d]. He kept a conſtant fire on both; but he intended firſt to apply

[d] They are ſituated on two promontories that run out into the great harbour, and are ſeparated from each other by a channel, where the gallies belonging to the Order lay, and the mouth of which was ſtrongly ſecured on each ſide by batteries.

himſelf

himſelf chiefly to the reduction of the latter, which he propoſed to attack both by land and water, at the extremity of the peninſula[c] on which it ſtands. In order to accompliſh this deſign, it was neceſſary he ſhould have ſome ſhipping introduced into the harbour, for tranſporting his forces. But the mouth of the harbour having been rendered inacceſſible by a great iron chain, and the cannon of St. Angelo, his deſign muſt have been relinquiſhed, if Piali had not ſuggeſted an expedient againſt which the Grand-maſter had not provided. This was to make the Chriſtian ſlaves and the crews of the ſhips draw a number of boats, by the ſtrength of their arms, over the neck of land on which ſtood Fort St. Elmo. Of this propoſal, which Muſtapha immediately adopted, information was carried to the Grand-maſter by a Turkiſh officer, who, being by birth a Greek, was touched ſuddenly with remorſe, and deſerted to the Chriſtians. In conſequence of this intelligence, La Valette ſet a great number of hands to work in framing a ſtacado along that part of the promontory where the Turks intended their attack; and at another part, where the depth of the water, or the hardneſs of the bottom would not admit of the ſtacado, he ordered ſtrong intrenchments to be made upon the beach. Muſtapha, in the mean

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[c] Called the Spur.

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time, fired inceſſantly upon the fort, while the ſlaves and crews were employed in tranſporting the boats over land into the harbour. At length the Baſha, judging that the number of boats which he had tranſported would be ſufficient, and that the breaches which his artillery had made were practicable, reſolved without further delay to make an attack both by ſea and land. He was the more confident of ſucceſs, as, ſince the taking of St. Elmo, he had received a conſiderable reinforcement, by the arrival of Haſcem, ſon of Barbaroſſa, with two thouſand five hundred ſelect ſoldiers, commonly called the Bravoes of Algiers. Haſcem, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of his father's fire, and was ambitious to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the ſervice of the Sultan, begged of Muſtapha to intruſt him with the aſſault of Fort St. Michael; and vaunted, with his natural arrogance, that he would ſoon make himſelf maſter of it ſword in hand. The Baſha, whether from an opinion of his valour, or an intention to teach him at his own expence the folly of his preſumption, readily complied with his requeſt; and having added ſix thouſand men to his Algerines, he promiſed to ſupport him with the reſt of his army.

Arrival of Haſcem, ſon of Barbaroſſa.

Hascem divided his forces with Candeliſſa, an old Corſair, his lieutenant; to whom he com-

committed the attack by ſea, whilſt he reſerved that on the land ſide to himſelf. BOOK VI. 1565.

CANDELISSA, having put his troops on board the boats, ſet out with drums beating, and hautboys and other muſical inſtruments playing, preceded by a boat filled with Mahometan prieſts, ſome of whom were employed in offering prayers to Heaven for his ſucceſs, or in ſinging hymns; while others had books in their hands out of which they read imprecations againſt the Chriſtians. Candeliſſa attempted firſt to break down the ſtacado which had been formed to obſtruct his landing; but finding it much ſtronger than he expected, and that, while he was employed in demoliſhing it, his troops muſt ſuffer greatly from the enemy's fire, he thought it would be eaſier to make a deſcent on that part of the ſhore which the Grand-maſter had ſtrengthened with intrenchments. At this important poſt the Chriſtian troops were commanded by an ancient Knight of the name of Guimaran. This experienced officer reſerved his fire till the Turks had advanced within a little diſtance of the ſhore, when by a ſingle diſcharge he killed about four hundred men. This did not prevent the reſt from approaching. Candeliſſa puſhed forwards while the Chriſtians were loading their cannon, and landed at the head of his Algerines. Candeliſſa repulſed with great ſlaughter.

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rines. But Guimaran, having reſerved ſome cannon charged with grape-ſhot, did dreadful execution among them after they had landed, and many of them began to fly to their boats; which Candeliſſa obſerving, he commanded the boats to be put off to a little diſtance from the ſhore. His troops, perceiving then that they muſt either die or conquer, took courage from deſpair, and advanced boldly to the intrenchment, with ladders for ſcaling it in one hand, and their ſabres in the other. The combatants on both ſides diſplayed the moſt intrepid valour. Great numbers fell, and the ditch was choaked with blood, and with the bodies of the dead and wounded. The Turks at laſt, after an engagement of five hours, reached the top of the entrenchment, and there planted their enſigns. The Knights, ſtung with ſhame on account of their retreat, returned with redoubled ardour. But they would probably have been overpowered by the ſuperior number of the enemy, had not the Grand-maſter ſent them a ſeaſonable reinforcement, under the Admiral de Giou, and the Chevalier de Quiney; who fell upon the Algerines and Turks with a degree of fury that ſtruck terror into Candeliſſa himſelf, who was noted for his intrepidity. Having ordered the boats to be brought nearer the ſhore, he was among the firſt who fled. His bravoes fought deſperately for ſome time after

after he had left them; but were at length thrown down from the entrenchments, and compelled to fly to their boats with the utmoſt precipitation. The Chriſtians purſued them, and the batteries continued firing on them without intermiſſion. Many of the boats were ſunk; the water was covered with dead bodies, mangled limbs, ſhields, and helmets. Of the four thouſand who had been ſent on this enterprize, ſcarcely five hundred remained, and many of theſe were dangerouſly wounded. 1565.

Hascem and

HASCEM was not more fortunate in his aſſault by land, than Candeliſſa was by ſea. After having been repulſed at one breach with great ſlaughter, he rallied his troops, and led them on to another, where he fought long and deſperately, till moſt of the bravoes having fallen by his ſide, he was obliged, with much reluctance and ſorrow, to ſound a retreat.

Muſtapha repulſed.

MUSTAPHA, not unmindful of his promiſe to ſupport him, no ſooner perceived him beginning to retire, than he ordered the Janiſſaries, whom he had kept under arms, to advance. The garriſon had maintained an engagement with Haſcem for five hours, in the middle of the day, and in the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year; yet, as if they had not been ſubject to the wants and

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and weakneſſes of humanity, they advanced beyond the breach to meet the Janiſſaries, and fought apparently with as much vigour and fortitude as before. By the power of ſuperior numbers they were compelled to fall back within the breach. But there they made the moſt deſperate reſiſtance; and, being reinforced by De Giou and De Quiney, with the troops which had triumphed over Candeliſſa, they at laſt repulſed the Janiſſaries with dreadful ſlaughter; after having loſt more than forty Knights, and two hundred of the braveſt of the common men.

The ſiege of Il Borgo and St. Michael carried on at the ſame time.

MUSTAPHA, enraged by this invincible obſtinacy which the Chriſtians diſplayed in their defence, and dreading that the Spaniſh ſuccours, which had been already delayed much longer than he expected, might ſoon arrive, reſolved now to employ his whole force at once, and, while he himſelf proſecuted the ſiege of Fort St. Michael with one half of his troops, to employ the other, under Piali, againſt the town. More batteries were raiſed. The trenches were advanced ſtill nearer than before. Bridges of ſail-yards and maſts were thrown over the ditches. Mines, notwithſtanding the hard and rocky ſoil, were ſprung. Aſſaults were repeated without number, and the two Baſhas, emulous of one another, and each of them agitated with

continual anxiety leſt victory ſhould declare BOOK
firſt for his competitor, exhibited the moſt VI.
ſhining proof of perſonal courage, and ex- 1565.
hauſted all the art of war then known in the world. Yet, through the determined bravery of the Knights, conducted by the Grand-maſter with conſummate prudence and indefatigable vigilance, the Turks were baffled in every attempt, and repulſed with ſlaughter. Muſtapha flattered himſelf once with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs on his part, made a machine, invented by his principal engineer, in the form of a huge caſk, bound ſtrongly with iron hoops, and filled with gun-powder, nails, chains, bullets, and ſuch other inſtruments of death. After ſetting fire to a train which was faſtened to this machine, it was thrown by the force of an engine, upon a ravelin that was the principal defence of the fort. But the garriſon, undiſmayed, found means, before it caught fire, to caſt it out again into the midſt of the aſſailants. In a moment afterwards it burſt with dreadful fury, and filled the Turks with conſternation. The Knights then ſallied out upon them ſword in hand, and taking advantage of their confuſion, killed many of them, and put the reſt to flight.

Piali had, on ſome occaſions, ſtill more reaſon than Muſtapha to entertain the hopes of victory, although the town was much ſtronger

Succeſs of Piali againſt Il Borgo.

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ſtronger than the fort, and La Valette commanded there in perſon. By his batteries he had demoliſhed all the out-works of the place, and had made an immenſe breach in the wall. While his troops were engaged in a furious aſſault, that engroſſed the whole attention of the beſieged from morning till night, he employed a great number of pioneers in raiſing a cavalier or platform of earth or ſtones, cloſe by the breach, and ſo high as to overlook the parapet. Night, in the mean time, came on, and prevented him from carrying any farther this great advantage; but he doubted not that the next day he ſhould be able to make himſelf maſter of the place.

The wiſdom and intrepidity of the Grand-maſter.

As ſoon as he had drawn off his forces, a council of the Order was convened, and moſt of the Knights were of opinion that the town was no longer tenable; that the fortifications which ſtill remained ſhould be blown up, and that the garriſon and inhabitants ſhould retire into the caſtle of St. Angelo. But the Grand-maſter received this propoſal with horror and indignation. "This would be in effect," ſaid he, "to deliver the whole iſland into the hands of the Infidels. Fort St. Michael, which has been ſo gallantly defended, and which is preſerved by its communication with the town, would thus be ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering. There is no room in the caſtle

of St. Angelo for the inhabitants and troops; nor, if there were room, is there water in that fort for ſo great a number." It was then propoſed that at leaſt the relics of the ſaints and the ornaments of the churches ſhould be carried into the caſtle; and the Knights earneſtly intreated the Grand-maſter to retire into it himſelf, aſſuring him that they would conduct the defence with the utmoſt vigour and vigilance. "No, my brethren," he replied, "what you propoſe as to the ſacred things, would ſerve only to intimidate the ſoldiers. We muſt conceal our apprehenſions. It is here we muſt either die or conquer. And is it poſſible that I, at the age of ſeventy-one, can end my life ſo honourably, as in fighting, together with my friends and brethren, againſt the implacable enemies of our holy faith?" He then told them what he thought proper to be done, and proceeded inſtantly to put it in execution. Having called all the ſoldiers from Fort St. Angelo, except a few who were neceſſary for managing the artillery, he employed *them* and the inhabitants all night, in throwing up intrenchments within the breach; after which he ſent out ſome of the braveſt Knights, with a ſelect body of troops, to make an attempt on the cavalier. Theſe men ſtole ſoftly along the foot of the wall till they arrived at the place appointed; when they ſet up a loud ſhout, and

1565.

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and attacked the guards whom Piali had left there, with ſo much fury, that the Turks believing the whole garriſon had fallen upon them, abandoned their poſt, and fled precipitately to their camp.

THE cavalier was immediately fortified, a battery of cannon planted on it, and a parapet raiſed on the ſide towards the enemy. And thus the breach was rendered impracticable; the town put in greater ſecurity than before; and a work, which had been deviſed for its deſtruction, converted into a bulwark for its defence.

Ungenerous conduct of Philip. Aug. 24.

THE Grand-maſter had now greater confidence than ever of being able to hold out till the Spaniards ſhould come to his relief. In conſequence of the aſſurances given by Philip, and the Sicilian Viceroy, he had, long before this time, entertained the hopes of their arrival, and had often earneſtly ſolicited the Viceroy to haſten his departure from Meſſina. The conduct of this nobleman was long exceedingly myſterious. The patience of the Knights was worn out by his delays; and they, and many others, ſuſpected that the real motive of his conduct was the dread of encountering with an Admiral of ſo great a reputation as Piali. But it afterwards appeared that the Viceroy had acted agreeably to his inſtructions,

tions from the court of Spain. For although Philip was, for the reaſons above mentioned, ſincerely intereſted in the preſervation of the Knights, and had amuſed them with the moſt flattering promiſes of aſſiſtance, yet he ſeems from the firſt to have reſolved not to expoſe himſelf to danger on their account, and to avoid, if poſſible, a general engagement. 1565.

A GENEROUS and grateful prince would have acted very differently towards an ally ſo deſerving of his ſupport; and if either generoſity or gratitude had been the leading principle of Philip's conduct, it is probable he would, on this occaſion, have regarded the Knights as his own ſubjects; and have thought it no leſs incumbent on him to exert himſelf in their defence, than if they had acknowledged him for their ſovereign.

BUT Philip was affected by the danger only ſo far as it threatened the tranquillity of his own dominions. He had reſolved to interpoſe in their behalf, rather than to ſuffer them to be overpowered; but he appears to have been very little touched with their calamities; and to have intended to leave them to themſelves, as long as there was any proſpect of their being able to make reſiſtance; by doing which he conſidered, that he would not only preſerve

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his own ſtrength entire, but might afterwards engage with the Turks, when they were exhauſted by the operations of the ſiege.

PHILIP adhered inflexibly to this plan, notwithſtanding the Grand-maſter's repeated importunities, much longer than was conſiſtent even with his own ſelfiſh views. For, without a degree of fortitude and proweſs on the part of the garriſon, and a degree of wiſdom, vigilance and magnanimity, on that of the Grand-maſter, infinitely higher than there could be reaſon to expect, it muſt have been impoſſible for ſuch a handful of men to have withſtood, for ſo long a time, ſo great a force, and ſuch mighty efforts as were employed to reduce them. Even the death of the Grand-maſter alone, whoſe perſon was expoſed to perpetual danger, would have proved fatal to the Knights, long before Philip ſent orders to his Viceroy to give them any effectual ſupport; and in this caſe, as his own dominions or his fleet would have been immediately attacked, he would probably have had little reaſon to be ſatisfied with the timid, ungeneroous counſels which he purſued.

WHATEVER judgment may be formed on this head, the Viceroy did not think himſelf at liberty to yield to the repeated applications of the

the Grand-maſter, till the operations of the ſiege began to relax, and the Turkiſh forces were reduced from forty-five thouſand to fifteen or ſixteen thouſand; of whom many were worn out with the fatigues which they had undergone, and others rendered unfit for action by a bloody flux, which for ſeveral weeks had raged amongſt them. BOOK VI. 1565.

In this ſituation of affairs, when it was probable that the Knights would, without aſſiſtance, have compelled the Turks to raiſe the ſiege, the Viceroy let the Grand-maſter know that he had now received ſuch inſtructions from the King, as put it in his power to ſhew his attachment to the Order; that he was not indeed permitted to attack the Turkiſh fleet; but that he would immediately bring him a ſtrong body of troops, whoſe commanders (as he himſelf muſt return to Sicily) were to be entirely ſubject to the Grand-maſter's authority, till the enemy ſhould be expelled.

The Viceroy, although ſtill ſuſpected of interpoſing unneceſſary delays, at length fulfilled his promiſe; and on the ſeventh of September landed ſix thouſand men, under Don Alvara de Sandé [c] and Aſcanio della Corna, in that Arrival of 6000 Spaniards.

[c] This is the ſame nobleman whoſe valiant defence of the fort of Gerba is deſcribed in Book IV. p. 102.

BOOK VI. 1565.

part of the iſland which lay at the greateſt diſtance from the Turks; after which he immediately carried back the fleet to Sicily.

THE Turkiſh Baſhas had been perſuaded by their ſpies, that the Viceroy's intention was to land his troops at the caſtle of St. Angelo; and to prevent this, Piali had lain ſeveral days at anchor before the great port, after having blocked up the entrance into it by a chain of ſail-yards, piles, and boats.

The ſiege raiſed, and the departure of the Turks.

IN the mean time, intelligence being brought to Muſtapha that the Spaniards were landed, and marching towards him, he was thrown into the moſt dreadful conſternation. Senſible that his ſoldiers were much diſheartened by their ill ſucceſs, he imagined that he was about to be attacked by a ſuperior army, conſiſting of the braveſt and beſt diſciplined troops in Spain. Without waiting for information of their number, he forthwith raiſed the ſiege, drew his garriſon out of St. Elmo, and leaving all his heavy cannon behind him, embarked his troops with as much precipitation as if the Spaniards with ſuperior forces had been in ſight. He had ſcarcely got on board when a deſerter arrived from the Spaniſh camp, and informed him that with fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men, he had fled before an army that did not exceed

ſix

six thousand, having no General at their head, and commanded by officers who were independent of one another. The Basha was overwhelmed with shame and vexation by this intelligence, and would have immediately disembarked; but this, he knew, he durst not attempt without consulting Piali, Hascem, and his other principal officers. BOOK VI. 1565.

While he was deliberating upon it, the Grand-master improved to the best advantage the leisure that was afforded him. He employed all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, as well as the soldiers, in filling up the enemy's trenches, and demolishing their works; and put a garrison without delay into Fort St. Elmo; in which the Turks now beheld from their ships the standard of St. John erected where that of Mahomet had lately stood.

This demonstrated to Mustapha, how much new labour awaited him in case he should return to the siege; but being enraged against himself on account of the precipitancy of his retreat, and disquieted at the thoughts of the reception which he had reason to expect from Solyman, he wished to atone for his imprudence, and to wipe off the reproach in which it had involved him, by victory or death. Piali,

BOOK VI. 1565.

who from his jealouſy of the Baſha's credit with the Sultan, was not ſorry for the failure of his enterpriſe, repreſented, in a council of war convened on this occaſion, that as the troops were much diſpirited and worn out, it would be expoſing them to certain deſtruction, either to lead them againſt the enemy, or to reſume the operations of the ſiege. But a majority of the council were of a different opinion; and it was reſolved to land the forces again without delay, and to march directly againſt the Spaniards.

The Turks again landed,

THE Turkiſh ſoldiers complained bitterly of this unexpected reſolution, and obeyed the orders to diſembark with much reluctance. Their officers were obliged to employ threats with ſome, and force with others. At length the number intended was put on ſhore, and Muſtapha ſet out at their head in ſearch of the enemy.

and defeated by the Spaniards.

THE Grand-maſter had not neglected to give early notice of their march to the Spaniſh commanders, who had intrenched their little army on a ſteep hill, which the Turks would have found almoſt inacceſſible; and it was the opinion of ſome of the principal officers, that they ſhould avail themſelves of the advantage of their ſituation, and ſtand in their defence. But this propoſal was rejected with diſdain by the bold

bold adventurous De Sandé, and the greateſt part of the Spaniſh officers; and the troops were led out of their encampment, to meet the enemy in the open field. This conduct, more fortunate perhaps than prudent, contributed to increaſe the dejection of the Turkiſh ſoldiers, and to facilitate their defeat. Having been dragged againſt their inclination to the field of battle; and being attacked by the Spaniards with great fury, both in front and flank, they ſcarcely fought; but, being ſtruck with a ſudden panic, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation. BOOK VI. 1565.

MUSTAPHA, confounded and enraged by this puſillanimous behaviour of his troops, was hurried along by the violent tide of the fugitives. He fell twice from his horſe, and would have been taken priſoner, if his officers had not reſcued him. The Spaniards purſued briſkly till they came to the ſea-ſhore. Their Piali had his boats ready to receive the Turks, and a number of ſhallops filled with muſketeers drawn up to favour their eſcape. Without this precaution they muſt all have periſhed; and even, notwithſtanding the protection which it afforded them, the number of their killed amounted to two thouſand men, while the victors loſt only thirteen or fourteen at moſt.

BOOK VI. 1565. Conclusion.

SUCH, after four months continuance, was the conclusion of the siege of Malta, which will be for ever memorable on account of that extraordinary display of the most generous and heroic valour by which the Knights, so few in number, were enabled to baffle the most vigorous effort which could be made to subdue them by the most powerful monarch in the world. The news of their deliverance gave universal joy to the Christian powers; and the name of the Grand-master excited every where the highest admiration and applause. Congratulations were sent him from every quarter; and in many States public rejoicings were celebrated on account of his success. The King of Spain, who derived greater advantage than any other from that glorious defence to which La Valette had so highly contributed, sent an ambassador to present him with a sword and dagger, of which the hilts were solid gold, adorned with diamonds, as a testimony of his respect; and engaged to pay him annually a sum of money to assist him in repairing his ruined fortifications[d].

[d] Thuanus, lib. xxxviii. Herrera, historia general. lib. vii. Cabrera, lib. vi. Vertot. Hist. des Cheval. de Malthe.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK VII.

PHILIP, being now delivered from his apprehenſions of a Turkiſh invaſion, applied himſelf with zeal to his favourite objects, the extirpation of hereſy, and the enforcing of obedience to the council of Trent. Nor in theſe points did he meet with much oppoſition, in any part of his dominions except the Netherlands; where the ſeeds of diſcord, which had been ſown in the beginning of his reign, were approaching faſt towards maturity. The Ducheſs of Parma had, ſoon after his departure, experienced what a difficult charge ſhe had undertaken. The regular clergy ſtill continued to complain as loudly as ever of the new erection of biſhoprics; and contributed to the

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the utmoſt of their power to foment the ſpirit of diſcontent among the people. No change, they ſaid, could be legally made in the conſtitution of the church without the conſent of the States. The new erections were therefore a violation of a fundamental law; which was the more intolerable, as the Abbots, on whoſe ruins the biſhoprics were raiſed, were natives of the country, and deeply intereſted in the public welfare; whereas the Biſhops would be entirely devoted to the courts of Rome and Spain. But the Regent was obliged to pay a greater regard to the orders of the King, than to the complaints or remonſtrances of the people. Nor did ſhe yield to the importunities of any of the cities, into which it had been reſolved that the new Biſhops ſhould be introduced, except Antwerp; the citizens whereof ſent deputies to Madrid, and found means to convince Philip, that his new inſtitution, through the dread with which it would inſpire foreigners that the Inquiſition was about to be eſtabliſhed, would prove deſtructive to their commerce[a].

WHILE the Regent was employed in ſettling the new Biſhops, ſhe was not unmindful of the King's injunctions with reſpect to the execution of the edicts. They were executed with

[a] Meteren, lib. ii. p. 37. Bentivoglio, Grotius, &c.

the utmoſt rigour, againſt perſons of all ages and of both ſexes, without diſtinction; and no greater regard was ſhewn, on many occaſions, to the laws of nature and humanity, than to the conſtitution of the provinces. The Regent was not of herſelf inclined to thoſe cruel meaſures that were purſued; but ſhe was directed in every thing by Granvelle[b], whoſe views, ſhe knew, were perfectly conformable to thoſe of the King; and whoſe judgment, for that reaſon, ſhe often followed in contradiction to her own. 1565.

The nobility diſguſted.

It was ſeldom that any matters relative to the edicts or the new biſhoprics were laid before the council, and when they were brought thither, they were propoſed as points already fixed, and not as ſubjects on which there was room to deliberate. The Regent formed her reſolutions privately, with the aſſiſtance of Granvelle, and there was nothing left to the council, but to give their ſanction to the meaſures which had been reſolved upon before.

It is not ſurprizing that a conduct ſo extremely partial ſhould have given umbrage to the other counſellors. The Prince of Orange

[b] Now Archbiſhop of Mechlin, and advanced to the dignity of Cardinal.

and

BOOK VII. 1565.

and the Counts Egmont and Horn[c] were more particularly offended with it. Their high ſtations, their merit and ſervices, and the truſt which had ever been repoſed in them by the late Emperor, entitled them to a principal ſhare in the Regent's moſt ſecret councils; and they were filled with indignation when they ſaw that, on every occaſion, a preference was given to the Cardinal. "In this," they ſaid, "conſiſted the recompence of all their ſervices, to be reduced by the King, to whoſe perſon and intereſt they had ever ſhewn the moſt inviolable attachment, under the dominion of an arrogant and haughty eccleſiaſtic. The Ducheſs of Parma had the name of Regent, but the power was lodged in the hands of Granvelle. The moſt important affairs of the ſtate were all determined in private by him, without the conſent, or even the knowledge, of the other counſellors. Their ſeats in the council, and their government of the provinces, were only high-ſounding empty names, which gave them the appearance of authority; whilſt they did not poſſeſs any real power, but were equally ſubjected with others to the arbitrary will of Granvelle."

[c] Admirals of the Netherlands.

WHILE

WHILE the Prince of Orange and the other diſcontented lords had ſo much reaſon to be diſſatisfied, it could not be expected that they would be extremely active in executing the orders of the court. Notwithſtanding all that had been done to ſuppreſs the new opinions in religion, theſe opinions were diffuſed wider and wider every day throughout the provinces. This Granvelle aſcribed to the negligence of the magiſtrates in executing the edicts. The Prince of Orange, on the other hand, and Count Egmont, threw the blame of it on him; and ſaid, that by purſuing meaſures to which the people of the Netherlands had never been accuſtomed, he had ſoured their minds, and brought the Regent's government into hatred and contempt. Thoſe complaints were often made in the preſence of the Regent herſelf: who, being preſſed on the one hand by the poſitive orders of the King, inculcated by Granvelle, and on the other, diſtreſſed by her apprehenſion of the conſequences to be dreaded from ſo much ill humour and diſcontent, could only give ſoothing anſwers to the complainers, and flatter them with ſome general hope that the grounds of their complaints would be removed.

1565.

Their animoſity againſt Cardinal Granvelle.

SHE was ſtill more embarraſſed, when the Prince of Orange propoſed in the council, that,

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that, in order to remedy the preſent evils, ſhe ſhould ſummon a convention of the States. It could not be expected that Granvelle would reliſh this propoſal. For he was not ignorant how ill the people ſtood affected to his perſon, and his meaſures of government; nor how much ſuperior the influence of the Prince of Orange would be to his, if the States were aſſembled. But he did not neglect the preſent opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with the King. When the Regent gave Philip information of the propoſal which had been made to her, and deſired to receive his inſtructions on the ſubject, Granvelle took that occaſion to repreſent to him, "That nothing could be more prejudicial to his authority than the aſſembling of the States; a meaſure which ought at all times to be avoided, as it uſually produced an inclination in the people to encroach upon the prerogatives of the crown; but which there never was ſo much ground to dread as at preſent, when perſons of all conditions were ſo deeply infected with a ſpirit of ſedition and diſcontent. The Abbots would come to the convention, inflamed with indignation on account of the late diminution of their revenues. The lower nobility and the deputies of the towns would be gained over by the Prince of Orange, and the other diſcontented lords; and the people, ever fond of innovations, would be much more inclined to

to regard the opinion of their deputies than that of the Regent, or the miniſters of the King." BOOK VII. 1565.

This repreſentation was perfectly agreeable to Philip's views and ſentiments; nor did he heſitate in complying with the counſel which was offered him. He immediately renewed his orders to the Regent with reſpect to the rigorous execution of the edicts; and thereby let the Prince of Orange and the other nobles ſee there was nothing farther from his intention than to convene the States, in order to conſider of more gentle expedients for preventing the growth of hereſy [d].

They apply to Philip for his removal.

The perſecutions, therefore, were carried on as formerly. The compaſſion which all men felt for the unhappy ſufferers, excited a general odium againſt the government. The magiſtrates encountered inſurmountable difficulties, in executing the orders of the court; and the number of Proteſtants increaſed daily, while the moſt vigorous efforts were made to extirpate them by the Regent and her miniſters. Granvelle endeavoured to convince the King, that this was chiefly owing to the remiſſneſs of the governors of the provinces. They were not ignorant of

[d] Bentivoglio, lib. ii. p. 15.

his

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his accuſation; and being now incenſed againſt him more than ever, they reſolved to make him feel the effects of their reſentment. Agreeably to this reſolution, the Prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horn, wrote a letter to the King, in which they laid the blame of all the diſturbances in the Netherlands upon the Cardinal; who, they repreſented, had aſſumed the ſole direction of affairs, and, by his imperious conduct, had rendered himſelf the object of univerſal hatred. "It was impoſſible for them to ſerve either the King or the people, whilſt a perſon ſo exceedingly obnoxious poſſeſſed ſuch unlimited influence. But the government would proceed ſmoothly, if Granvelle were removed; and in caſe the King would grant their requeſt, there ſhould be nothing wanting on their part, either to ſupport his authority, or to maintain the purity of the Catholic faith, to which they were not leſs ſincerely attached than Cardinal Granvelle."

Philip's reluctance.

To this letter Philip, after a delay of ſome months, made as mild a reply as could juſtly have been expected; but he concluded with obſerving, "That it was not his practice to diſmiſs his miniſters upon the complaints of their enemies, till he had given them an opportunity of vindicating their conduct. Juſtice

too required that, from general accuſations, they ſhould deſcend to mention particular crimes or miſdemeanours; and if they did not incline to do this in writing, one of them might come to Madrid, where he would be received with every mark of diſtinction and reſpect." BOOK VII. 1565.

WITH this anſwer the Prince of Orange and the other lords were much diſſatisfied; and they had the courage to reply, "That they were greatly diſappointed to find ſo little regard paid to their remonſtrance. For they had not writ their former letter, as Cardinal Granvelle's accuſers, but as the King's counſellors; who, by virtue of their office, were bound to inform him of whatever appeared to be of conſequence to the welfare of his dominions. They did not deſire that the Cardinal ſhould ſuffer harm; and, in any place except the Netherlands, they ſhould be glad to hear of his proſperity; but his continuance there, they thought, was incompatible with the public peace." They added, "That they did not eſteem the Cardinal ſo highly as to undertake a journey to Spain on his account; and that ſince the King was pleaſed to repoſe ſo little confidence in their opinion, they hoped he would diſpenſe with their further attendance in the council; where, as they could not be preſent without a diminution of their dignity, it was impoſſible

BOOK VII. for them, while the Cardinal retained his influence, to be of the ſmalleſt uſe."

1565.

To this ſecond letter, Philip made no other anſwer, but that he would conſider of what they had ſaid, and that in the mean time he expected they would continue to give their
1564. aſſiſtance as formerly in the council.

Departure of Granvelle.

THEY now ſaw that he had no intention to comply with their requeſt. Still however they obeyed his orders, and at times they went to the council; but there, and every where elſe, they treated the Cardinal with ſo much ridicule and contempt, that being at length diſguſted with his ſituation, he applied for liberty to retire. The King conſented, but with great reluctance; and could never forgive the Prince of Orange, and the other lords, who had reduced him to this neceſſity [e].

His meaſures adopted by Viglius and Barlaimont.

GRANVELLE'S departure was not attended with thoſe advantages which his enemies expected to derive from it. They had flattered themſelves with the hopes of obtaining, after his removal, their juſt ſhare in the adminiſtration; but Viglius [f], and Count Barlaimont,

[e] Bentivoglio. Grotius.

[f] Preſident of the privy-council, and eſteemed the greateſt lawyer in the Netherlands.

two

two zealous Catholics, who had concurred with Granvelle in all his arbitrary meaſures, were ſoon received by the Regent into the ſame degree of favour which he had poſſeſſed, and were allowed to exerciſe the ſame unlimited influence in the government. BOOK VII. 1565.

A LITTLE before this time the council of Trent had publiſhed its decrees, and Philip, as mentioned above, had reſolved to have them obeyed throughout all his dominions. The diſturbances which ſubſiſted in the Low Countries, ought to have deterred him from adding fuel to a flame which already burnt with ſo much violence. But his bigotry, together with his arbitrary maxims of government, rendered him averſe to every mild expedient, and determined him to enforce obedience to the decrees in the Netherlands, as well as in Spain and Italy. When the Regent laid his inſtructions on this head before the council of State, ſhe found the counſellors much divided in their opinions. The Prince of Orange maintained, "That the Regent could not require the people of the Netherlands to receive the decrees, becauſe ſeveral of them were contrary to the fundamental laws of the conſtitution. He repreſented that ſome Catholic Princes had thought proper to reject them; and propoſed that a remonſtrance ſhould be made to the Publication of the decrees of the council of Trent.

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King on the neceſſity of recalling his inſtructions." Several other lords were of the ſame opinion. But Viglius, on the other hand, urged with great earneſtneſs, the neceſſity of complying immediately with the King's commands. "By general councils," he ſaid, "the church had in all ages ſecured the purity of its diſcipline and doctrines. No remedies for the diſorders in the Netherlands could be deviſed more likely to prove effectual, than the decrees in queſtion. If they ſhould be found in any reſpect incompatible with the laws or privileges of the Netherlands, the inconveniences dreaded from thence might be prevented, by executing them with prudence and moderation." He ſubjoined, "that it was the peculiar glory and happineſs of their Sovereign, that either he did not entertain the ſame erroneous ſentiments, or lie under the ſame diſagreeable neceſſity as thoſe other Catholic Princes who had rejected the decrees; but held opinions, and could follow meaſures, which, while they were conducive to the welfare of the church, were neceſſary in order to ſecure the peace and proſperity of his ſubjects[g]."

Progreſs of the reformation.

THIS ſpeech of Viglius had the deſired effect upon the Regent; who immediately reſolved,

[g] Bentivoglio, b. ii. p. 22.

without

without regard to what had been offered by the Prince of Orange, to publiſh the decrees. But from different cauſes, both the number and courage of the reformers were now greatly augmented. In conſequence of the civil wars in France, many Proteſtants of that kingdom had retired into the ſouthern provinces. And through the conſtant intercourſe which ſubſiſted in the way of trade between the more northern provinces and England and Germany, theſe provinces were filled with Proteſtant miniſters, who, being prompted by that ardent zeal which the knowledge of important truth lately diſcovered is calculated to inſpire, exerted themſelves with unceaſing induſtry in propagating their religious tenets. The country abounded at the ſame time with books written againſt the Popiſh rites and doctrines. Several of the nobility, and many of the magiſtrates, had imbibed the new opinions. The governors of the provinces were either not inclined to execute thoſe edicts to which they had from the beginning ſhewn themſelves averſe; or, as they often declared, they found it impracticable to carry them into execution, without laying the country waſte, by forcing into exile great numbers of its moſt induſtrious inhabitants. In many places the edicts were not executed at all; and in others, the Proteſtants were reſcued by the people from the

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hands of the inquiſitors, and the inquiſitors themſelves obliged to fly from the enraged multitude.

Count Egmont ſent to Spain.

THE Regent diſcovered at this time great perplexity and heſitation. She was exceedingly deſirous to have her adminiſtration approved by the King, and would have gladly complied with his inſtructions; but ſhe could not help being alarmed by the repeated repreſentations which were made to her of the conſequences that might ariſe from driving the people to deſpair. She therefore judged it expedient to ſend one of the principal nobility to Spain, to inform the King, more fully than ſhe could do by writing, of the real ſtate of the provinces: and having made choice of Count Egmont for her ambaſſador, as one who was equally acceptable to all parties, ſhe employed Viglius the preſident to give him her inſtructions, in preſence of the other counſellors. The Prince of Orange was highly diſſatisfied with the terms in which theſe inſtructions were expreſſed: "This repreſentation," ſaid he, "of the ſtate of her affairs, is not calculated to inform the King, but to deceive him. The relation which the preſident has given of our calamities falls infinitely ſhort of the truth. We muſt lay open from the bottom thoſe wounds under which the country bleeds, elſe the King can never apply

apply the proper cures. Let us not, by our misrepresentations, make him believe the number of heretics to be smaller than it is. Let us acquaint him, that every province, every town, every village is full of them. Let us not conceal from him how much they despise the edicts, and how little they respect the magistrates; that he may see how impracticable it is to introduce the Inquisition, and be convinced that the remedy which he would have us to apply, would be infinitely worse than the disease." He added, "That although he was a true Catholic, and a faithful subject to the King, yet he thought the calamities which had been lately experienced in France and Germany, afforded a sufficient proof that the consciences of men were not to be compelled, and that heresy was not to be extirpated by fire and sword, but by reasoning and persuasion; to which it was in vain to expect that men would be brought to listen, until the present practice of butchering them like beasts was laid aside." He represented likewise the absurdity of publishing, on this occasion, the decrees of the council of Trent, and proposed that Count Egmont should be instructed to request the King to suspend the publication of them till the present tumults were allayed. But the Regent was either not inclined or not at liberty to follow the opinion of the Prince of Orange in preference to that of Viglius. She

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called Count Egmont apart from the council, and having given him ſuch inſtructions as ſhe thought proper, ſhe made him ſet out immediately for Spain; after having flattered him with hopes that his journey thither, if he improved the opportunity afforded him, would ſecure him the full poſſeſſion of his maſter's favour[h].

His reception there.

THE King received him at Madrid, and entertained him, during his ſtay there, with every teſtimony of regard. When he was about to return, he made him a preſent of fifty thouſand florins; and as the Count had ſeveral daughters, Philip promiſed to diſpoſe of them in marriages ſuitable to their father's rank. The cotemporary hiſtorians differ widely in their relations of what paſſed with reſpect to the ſubjects of his embaſſy. The moſt probable account is, that although Philip's anſwer was not clear and explicit, yet that he expreſſed himſelf with ſo much ſoftneſs in ſpeaking of the edicts, and uttered ſo many ſtrong profeſſions of affection for the people of the Netherlands, that the Count, who was in the higheſt degree candid and ſincere, was induced to believe that the King did in reality intend to alter his meaſures of government. It is certain[i], that he

His return.

[h] Bentivoglio, lib. ii. Grotius, lib. i. [i] Grotius.

returned

returned to the Low Countries highly ſatisfied with the court of Spain; and extolled the goodneſs of the King, and the love which he bore to his Flemiſh ſubjects. The Prince of Orange was not ſo eaſily deceived. Count Egmont had been impoſed upon, he ſaid, by Spaniſh artifice. His private intereſt had blinded his penetration, and created in him an ill-grounded ſecurity with regard to the public good[k]. BOOK VII. 1565.

BUT although Count Egmont was not able to ſatisfy the Prince of Orange, it ſhould ſeem that his report was credited by moſt of the other counſellors, and even by the Regent herſelf; who would not otherwiſe have agreed to a meaſure which, immediately after the Count's arrival, was ſuggeſted in the council. It was there propoſed that a certain number of divines and lawyers ſhould meet together in Bruſſels, to conſider of the moſt effectual methods of putting a ſtop to the growth of hereſy; and the Regent readily conſented to this propoſal, without inquiring, as ſhe uſed to do on other occaſions, whether it would be agreeable to the King. To this conference ſhe called the Biſhops of Arras, Ipres, and Namur; Ravenſtenius and Janſenius, two eminent divines; the two preſidents of the provincial councils In conſequence of this report, a conference appointed.

[k] Vid. William's Apology, p. 485.

of

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of Flanders and Utrecht, and two eminent lawyers from Mechlin and Brabant.

THE reſult of their deliberations was, that ſchools for inſtructing youth in the principles of the Catholic faith, ſhould be erected in all the provinces; that particular attention ſhould be given to reform the lives of the clergy; and that in puniſhing heretics mild chaſtiſements ſhould be adopted, in the room of thoſe ſevere ones, which upon trial had been found ſo ineffectual[1].

July. Philip offended with it.

THE Regent having tranſmitted to the King an account of theſe determinations, was greatly ſurpriſed when ſhe was informed, that, far from approving them, he was extremely diſſatisfied with her for allowing the conference to be held. The ſubjects which had been conſidered in it, were points, he ſaid, already fixed by his authority; and which, on that account, ought not to have been brought under deliberation. The diſorders which occaſioned ſo much uneaſineſs to the Regent, had ariſen from the connivance or negligence of her miniſters. But if any of them were found wanting, either in courage or in zeal for the ſervice which he required, ſhe muſt immediately diſmiſs them, and ſub-

[1] Bentivoglio, lib. ii. p. 25.

ſtitute

ſtitute others in their place; for no ſervice which ſhe could perform, would be either ſo acceptable to him, or ſo conducive to his glory and intereſt, as the extinction of hereſy in the Netherlands. BOOK VII. 1565.

THE Regent had, from the beginning of her adminiſtration, been extremely ſolicitous to gratify the court of Spain. Nothing could have made her agree to the conference, but her conviction, founded on Count Egmont's report, that it would not be unacceptable to the King. As ſoon as ſhe diſcovered her miſtake, ſhe publiſhed an edict, confirming all the former edicts, and requiring the governors and councils to proceed in the execution of them with the utmoſt diligence[m]. The perſecutions renewed.

EVEN Viglius[n] heſitated as to the expediency of this meaſure at the preſent juncture; and it excited in the minds of the people univerſal indignation and aſtoniſhment. Thoſe hopes of deliverance from their grievances, which they had conceived from Count Egmont's journey to Spain, had, by his report of the King's diſpoſition towards them, been raiſed to the greateſt height. Their diſappointment now was proportionably great. They did not

[m] Meurſius Gul. Auriac. p. 4, 5. [n] Ibid. p. 4.

blame

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blame Count Egmont; for they were perſuaded that he had been deceived; but they deteſted the duplicity and artifice of Philip and his miniſters.

THE Count had too much ſenſibility not to be deeply affected on this occaſion; and he complained bitterly, that the King had acted with no other deſign in the ſtudied kindneſs which he had ſhewn him, but to expoſe him to the contempt or hatred of his countrymen, and thereby to ruin his credit and influence[o].

The Prince of Orange remonſtrates.

THE Prince of Orange was almoſt the only perſon in whom this unexpected meaſure created no ſurpriſe. When the new edict was tranſmitted to him, he wrote to the Regent a letter; in which he repreſented, "That in the preſent temper of the people it was impoſſible for the King's ſervants to execute the orders impoſed upon them, without involving the provinces in a civil war." "But if ſtill," he added, "Your Highneſs be determined to have the edicts carried into immediate execution, then I muſt deſire that ſome more proper perſon may be appointed in my place, who, poſſeſſing greater authority, may be better qualified to fulfil your intention. The King is not

[o] Strada, lib. iv. p. 118.

ignorant,

ignorant, that, on other occaſions, I have ſpared neither my perſon nor my fortune in his ſervice. My preſent conduct proceeds not from the want of loyalty or zeal, but from a perſuaſion that I cannot yield the obedience required from me, without diſhonour to myſelf, and infinite prejudice to the Netherlands [p]."

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NEITHER the Prince of Orange, nor the Counts Egmont and Horn, expreſſed their diſſatisfaction with the preſent meaſures of government in any other way than by making remonſtrances and complaints. As it was greatly their intereſt, ſo it appears to have been their ſincere deſire, to avoid incurring the King's diſpleaſure. And they ſtudied to give him every proof of fidelity that could be reaſonably expected from thoſe who were members of a free ſtate, and had ſworn to maintain the fundamental laws of the conſtitution.

THE conduct of many of the other nobles was not ſo ſcrupulous and reſerved. They ſet on foot, at this time, a confederacy, by which they bound themſelves to ſupport one another, in preventing the Inquiſition from being eſtabliſhed in the Netherlands. The prime mover of this expedient was Philip de Marnix, Lord

The compromiſe.

St. Aldegonde.

[p] Gen. Hiſt. of the Netherlands.

of

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of St. Aldegonde, a nobleman highly diſtinguiſhed for his eloquence, his addreſs, and his political abilities, who had the merit of contributing more than any other perſon (the Prince of Orange alone excepted) towards accompliſhing that happy revolution, by which the northern provinces were reſcued from the Spaniſh yoke. By his advice, and according to his direction, a writing was drawn up, termed the Compromiſe, which is here inſerted, as it marks ſtrongly the ſpirit by which the people of the Netherlands were animated.

"WHEREAS certain malicious perſons, under the cloak of zeal for the Catholic religion, but in reality prompted by ambition, pride, and avarice, have, by their miſrepreſentations, perſuaded our Lord the King to introduce into theſe provinces that moſt pernicious tribunal the Inquiſition; which is not only contrary to all human and divine laws, but exceeds in cruelty the moſt barbarous inſtitutions of the moſt ſavage tyrants in the heathen world; which ſubjects all authority to that of the inquiſitors, reduces all men to a perpetual ſtate of miſerable ſlavery, and by the viſitations which it appoints, expoſes the beſt men to continual apprehenſions; ſo that if a prieſt, a Spaniard, or wicked minion of power ſhall incline, he may, by means of this inſtitution,

accuſe

accuſe any man, however innocent, and cauſe him to be impriſoned, condemned, and put to death, without being confronted with his accuſers, and without being allowed to bring evidence of his innocence, or to ſpeak in his defence: For theſe reaſons we whoſe names are here ſubſcribed have reſolved to provide for the ſecurity of our families, goods, and perſons; and for this purpoſe we hereby enter into a ſacred league with one another, promiſing with a ſolemn oath, to oppoſe with all our power, the introduction of the above-mentioned Inquiſition into theſe provinces; whether it ſhall be attempted openly or ſecretly, and by whatever name it ſhall be called, whether that of Inquiſition, Viſitation, Commiſſion, or Edict: declaring at the ſame time, that we are far from entertaining the deſign of attempting any thing prejudicial to the intereſt of our Sovereign the King; but on the contrary, that our fixed intention is, to ſupport and defend his government, to maintain peace, and to prevent, to the utmoſt of our power, all ſeditions, tumults, and revolts. This agreement we have ſworn, and we hereby promiſe and ſwear to maintain it for ever ſacred; and we call Almighty God to witneſs, that neither in word nor deed ſhall we ever weaken or counteract it.

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"We likewiſe promiſe and ſwear mutually to defend one another, in all places, and on all occaſions,

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occaſions, againſt every attack that ſhall be made, or proſecution that ſhall be raiſed againſt any individual amongſt us, on account of his concern in this confederacy. And we declare, that no pretence of the perſecutors, who may allege rebellion, inſurrection, or any other plea, ſhall exempt us from this our oath and promiſe. No action can deſerve the name of rebellion, that proceeds from oppoſition to the iniquitous decrees of the Inquiſition; and therefore, whether any of us be attacked directly on account of oppoſing theſe decrees, or under pretence of puniſhing rebellion or inſurrection, we hereby ſwear to endeavour by all lawful means to procure his deliverance.

"In this and every part of our conduct regarding the Inquiſition, our meaning is, to ſubmit to the general opinion of our confederates, or to that of thoſe who ſhall be appointed by the reſt to aſſiſt us with their counſel.

"In witneſs of this our league, we invoke the holy name of the living God, as the ſearcher of our hearts; humbly beſeeching him to grant us the grace of his holy ſpirit, that all our enterpriſes may be attended with ſucceſs, may promote the honour of his name, contribute to the welfare of our ſouls, and advance the peace and true intereſt of the Netherlands."

SUCH

SUCH were the terms of the compromiſe, which was quickly circulated through the provinces, and ſubſcribed by perſons of all ranks, whether Catholics or Proteſtants. Books were at the ſame time multiplied, in which liberty of conſcience was pleaded, the abſurdities in the popiſh doctrines and worſhip expoſed, and hideous pictures drawn of the inquiſition. 1565.

THE Regent felt great anxiety with regard to the conſequences with which ſo much ill-humour and diſcontent were likely to be attended. She had never fully credited the repreſentations which the Prince of Orange and ſome of her other counſellors had often made to her. And ſhe now complained bitterly of the ſituation to which ſhe was reduced by the orders ſent from Spain. "For to what purpoſe was it (ſhe ſaid) to publiſh edicts, when I wanted power to enforce their execution? They have ſerved only to increaſe the people's audacity, and to bring my authority into contempt [q]."

THE Prince of Orange, and the Counts Horn and Egmont, had, ever ſince the laſt republication of the edicts, abſented themſelves from the council. The Regent now wrote to them in the moſt urgent manner, Speech of the Prince of Orange in the council.

[q] Bentivoglio and Strada.

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requiring their attendance. They readily complied; and the Regent, after having informed them of her deſign in calling them together, deſired they would deliver their opinions without reſerve. The Prince of Orange was among the laſt who roſe, and he ſpoke as follows[r]:

"WOULD to Heaven, I had been ſo fortunate as to gain belief, when I ventured to foretel what has now happened. Deſperate remedies would not in that caſe have been firſt applied, nor perſons who had fallen into error been confirmed in it, by the means employed to reclaim them. We ſhould not certainly think favourably of a phyſician's prudence, who, in the beginning of a diſeaſe, when gentle remedies were likely to prove effectual, ſhould propoſe the burning or cutting off the part infected.

"THERE are two ſpecies of Inquiſition. The one is exerciſed in the name of the Pope, and the other has been long practiſed by the Biſhops. To the latter, men are in ſome meaſure reconciled by the power of cuſtom; and conſidering how well we are now provided

[r] This ſpeech is recorded by Nicholas Burgundius, who compiled his hiſtory from the papers of the Preſident Viglius. Vide Brandt's Hiſtory of the Reformation in the Netherlands.

with

with Biſhops in all the provinces, it may be reaſonably expected that this ſort will alone be found ſufficient. The former has been, and will for ever be, an object of abhorrence, and ought to be aboliſhed without delay. BOOK VII. 1565.

"WITH reſpect to thoſe edicts which have been ſo often publiſhed againſt the innovators in religion, hearken not to me, but to your own experience, which will inform you, that the perſecutions to which they have given riſe, have ſerved only to increaſe and propagate the errors againſt which they have been exerciſed. The Netherlands have for ſeveral years been a ſchool, in which, if we have not been extremely inattentive, we may have learned the folly of perſecution. Men do not for nothing forego the advantages of life; much leſs do they expoſe themſelves to torture and death for nothing. The contempt of death and pain, exhibited by heretics in ſuffering for their religion, is calculated to produce the moſt powerful effects on the minds of ſpectators. It works on their compaſſion, it excites their admiration of the ſufferers, and creates in them a ſuſpicion, that truth muſt certainly be found where they obſerve ſo much conſtancy and fortitude. Heretics have been treated with the ſame ſeverity in France and England as in the Low

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Countries. But has it been attended there with better ſucceſs? On the contrary, is there not reaſon, there as well as here, to ſay what was ſaid of the Chriſtians of old, That the blood of the martyrs is the ſeed of the church? The Emperor Julian, the moſt formidable enemy whom Chriſtianity ever ſaw, was fully ſenſible of the truth of this. Haraſſing and tormenting could only ſerve, he knew, to inflame that ardent zeal which he wanted to extinguiſh. He had recourſe therefore to the expedient of ridicule and contempt; and this he found to be more effectual. The Grecian empire was at different periods infected with hereſies of various kinds. Ætius taught errors in the reign of Conſtance; Neſtorius in that of Theodoſius; Arius in that of Conſtantine. No ſuch puniſhments were inflicted, either on the hereſiarchs themſelves or on their diſciples, as are now practiſed in the Netherlands; and yet where are all thoſe falſe opinions now, which the firſt broachers were at ſo much pains to propagate? Such is the nature of hereſy, if it reſts, it ruſts; but he who rubs it, whets it. Let it be neglected and overlooked, it will ſoon loſe the charm of novelty; and with that, it will loſe the greateſt part of its attractive power. But they are not the examples only of heathen princes which I would recommend

mend to the Regent's imitation. In complying with my advice, ſhe will tread in the ſteps of our late glorious Emperor, her father; who from experience was convinced, that gentle meaſures were more likely to prove effectual than ſevere ones; and therefore adopted the former, in preference to the latter, for ſeveral years before his reſignation. BOOK VII. 1565.

"THE King himſelf appeared, at a certain period, inclined to make trial of mild expedients. But, through the influence of the Biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics, he has changed his views. Let theſe men anſwer for their conduct if they can. For my own part, I am entirely ſatisfied that it is impoſſible to root out the preſent evils in the Netherlands by force, without ſhaking the State from its foundation. I conclude with reminding you of what we have all heard frequently, That the Proteſtants in the Low Countries have opened a correſpondence with thoſe in France. Let us beware of irritating them more than we have already done, leſt, by imitating the French Catholics in their ſeverity, we, like them, involve our country in the dreadful miſeries of a civil war."

THIS ſpeech was not entirely without effect. It convinced the Regent, that ſhe muſt either make ſome conceſſions to the confederates, or

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have recourſe to arms. She was inclined to follow the latter of theſe meaſures, becauſe ſhe knew it would be more agreeable to the King; and ſhe deſired Count Egmont to undertake the command of ſome forces which he propoſed to raiſe, in order to carry her deſign into execution; but the Count declined accepting of it, ſaying, That he could not fight with honour in defence of the Inquiſition. The Ducheſs found it neceſſary, therefore, to embrace the other alternative, and to attempt to ſooth the malcontents, by making ſome abatement in the rigour of the edicts[s].

MEANWHILE the number of thoſe who had acceded to the compromiſe was become ſo conſiderable, that they thought it was now time to take ſome ſtep towards fulfilling their engagements. With this view they ſet out for Bruſſels, where the court reſided, and ſent ſome of their number to deſire leave of the Regent, to lay before her their ſentiments concerning a ſubject in which the intereſt of the King and their perſonal ſecurity were equally concerned. The counſellors were divided in their opinions with regard to the anſwer proper to be made to this requeſt. Some of them were for rejecting it utterly; others adviſed to admit two or three of the

[s] Brandt, vol. i. p. 165.

confederates

confederates and no more; but the opinion of thoſe prevailed who thought that, at preſent it would be imprudent to furniſh them with any juſt ground of offence, by denying them a privilege to which every inhabitant of the Netherlands was intitled; eſpecially as they were without arms, and no danger could be apprehended from admitting them. BOOK VII. 1566.

THEY entered Bruſſels in the beginning of April one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſix, in number between three and four hundred, on horſeback. Beſides Count Brederode, who was deſcended from the ancient Earls of Holland, there were the Counts Colemberg and Treſemberg, the Marquis of Mons, the Baron of Montigny, and Count Lewis of Naſſau, brother to the Prince of Orange; all of them perſons of conſiderable influence in the provinces.

THEY went in a body, walking two by two, from the houſe of Count Colemberg to the palace, and were received there by the Regent, attended by the council of ſtate.

THEY began their petition with declaring, "That as hitherto they had never failed in loyalty to the King, ſo they were ſtill as much as ever determined to hold faſt their allegiance. Petition of the nobles.

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They were ſenſible that their preſent conduct might be miſconſtrued; but they choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to this riſk, than not inform the Regent of what they were convinced was of the higheſt conſequence to the intereſt both of the King and the provinces. The ſolicitude which the King had diſcovered to preſerve religion pure in the Netherlands, deſerved the higheſt praiſe; but experience had ſhewn, that the remedies employed for this purpoſe contributed only to increaſe the diſeaſe. They had long flattered themſelves with hopes, that the States would have been aſſembled, to deviſe means more likely to prove ſucceſsful; but ſince this deſirable event had not taken place, they thought it their duty to inform her, that if the meaſures of government reſpecting religion were not quickly altered, they were perſuaded it would be impoſſible to prevent a general inſurrection. It was therefore their earneſt deſire, that ſhe would ſend ſome proper perſons to the King, to acquaint him with the neceſſity of ſoftening the rigour of the edicts; and they intreated her to ſuſpend the execution of them till his pleaſure ſhould be known. But if no regard, they added, ſhould be paid to this our humble and moſt earneſt prayer, we call God and the King, Your Highneſs, and theſe your illuſtrious counſellors, to witneſs, that we have given warning

warning of the impending danger, and ſhall not be accountable for the calamities that may enſue[t]." BOOK VII. 1566.

To this petition the Regent gave the following anſwer in writing: "That ſhe was not inveſted by the King with power to ſuſpend the execution of the edicts; but that ſhe was not averſe from ſending ſome proper perſon to Spain, where ſhe would willingly employ her good offices to procure them ſatisfaction. That, in the mean time, ſhe would iſſue orders to the inquiſitors to proceed in the exerciſe of their office with moderation; and that in return for her conceſſions, ſhe expected that the petitioners would ſtudy carefully to avoid all occaſion of offence." Anſwer of the Regent.

THE confederates, much diſſatisfied with this anſwer, inſiſted earneſtly upon receiving one that was more explicit; and the Regent, dreading the conſequences of ſending them away in ill-humour, ordered her ſecretary to communicate to them the inſtructions which, after conſidering the matter more maturely, ſhe had reſolved to tranſmit to the inquiſitors. Theſe were, that henceforth they ſhould proceed againſt offenders in the article of religion with the utmoſt gentleneſs; and ſhould not

[t] Bentivoglio and Brandt.

puniſh

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punish any of them with banishment, imprisonment, or confiscation, unless they were found guilty of seditious practices. And these instructions, it was added, were to remain in force till the King's pleasure should be known. The confederates, on the other hand, engaged, not to attempt to make any innovation in religious matters, but to wait patiently for the determination of the assembly of the States; which, they fondly flattered themselves, would be held soon, in order to put an end to all their grievances.

The Marquis of Mons and the Baron of Montigny sent to Spain.

AGREEABLY to her first declarations, the Regent immediately dispatched the Marquis of Mons and the Baron of Montigny, to lay the petition before the King. And these two noblemen gladly undertook the task assigned them; little suspecting either how fruitless their journey was to prove, as to the intention of it, or how fatal to themselves. For, as will appear in the sequel, Philip did not consider them as the Regent's ambassadors, but as persons who had brought her under the disagreeable necessity of clothing them with that character, and as the heads of a confederacy which had been formed against his government.

The intemperate zeal of the reformers.

IN the mean time a report was propagated in the Netherlands, that the Regent had consented

ſented to the public profeſſion of the reformed religion. In the belief of this, the people threw off the reſerve which they had hitherto maintained, and the Proteſtant miniſters preached in many places to numerous aſſemblies of perſons, who came together in arms, with a reſolution to defend themſelves, in caſe the inquiſitors ſhould attempt to interrupt them. From theſe aſſemblies they ſoon paſſed to open violence againſt the churches, and deſpoiled them of all their coſtly ornaments. BOOK VII. 1566.

THESE outrages were firſt committed in the province of Flanders; and the example of the Flemings was quickly diffuſed throughout all the provinces. In a little time afterwards the ſame tumultuous ſpirit appeared in the great commercial towns; in which, from their frequent intercourſe with foreign Proteſtants, and from the ſpirit of liberty that naturally grows up in large communities, almoſt the whole body of the people had embraced the new opinions.

IN Antwerp the reformers indulged themſelves in the moſt unjuſtifiable extravagancies. They inſulted the Catholics when employed in the functions of their religion. They broke furiouſly into the great church, which was one of the richeſt edifices in Europe, overturned

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turned the altars, defaced the paintings, and deſtroyed all the images of the ſaints.

FROM the cathedral they flew with the ſame ungovernable fury to the monaſteries and convents; and there, after forcing open the gates, and obliging the monks and nuns to fly into the city for ſhelter, it appeared that under the cover of religious zeal, many of the moſt abandoned of the people had joined with the reformers, and embraced the preſent opportunity of gratifying their rapacity. The ſame riotous ſpirit appeared in numberleſs other places. It ſpread like a conflagration over all the provinces; meeting every where with the ſame combuſtible materials, and every where producing the ſame pernicious effects.

IN Bruſſels they were overawed by the preſence of the court; yet even there, they had in ſome meaſure thrown off their wonted reſerve; and the Regent, apprehenſive that her perſon was in danger, reſolved to reſide in Mons. This reſolution gave much uneaſineſs to the Prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horn: who ſaw how much diſhonour it would reflect on them, to have it believed that the perſon of the Princeſs was inſecure, where *they* were inveſted with ſuch high

high command, and poſſeſſed ſuch extenſive influence. They employed every argument that could prevail upon her to alter her intention. They pledged their lives and fortunes for her ſafety; and promiſed to exert their utmoſt power in quelling thoſe diſorders which were the cauſe of her inquietude. At length ſhe yielded to their intreaties, and conſented ſtill to remain at Bruſſels [u]. BOOK VII. 1566.

The ſeveral governors ſoon after ſet out for their reſpective provinces. The Prince of Orange, beſides being governor of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Burgundy, was viſcount and governor of Antwerp. And even the popiſh hiſtorians acknowledge, that, having often gone thither, he had exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in quieting the tumults occaſioned by the intemperate zeal of the reformers. At this time he ordered three of the rioters to be executed, and fined and baniſhed ſeveral of the reſt. He again opened the great church, and reſtored the exerciſe of the Catholic religion. The ſucceſs and zeal of the Prince of Orange in quelling the tumults, Auguſt.

But finding it impoſſible to prevent the Proteſtants from holding their religious meetings, he entered into an agreement with the perſons of the greateſt influence among them, by which they were allowed to exerciſe their religion in churches within the city, provided that they

[u] Bentivoglio, Brandt, &c.

2 ſhould

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ſhould come together without arms; that they ſhould give no annoyance to the Catholics; and that their preachers ſhould refrain from all invectives againſt the eſtabliſhed church. And he conſented that this agreement ſhould remain in force till he ſhould know the pleaſure of the King; to whom the Proteſtants engaged to ſubmit, or immediately to leave the Netherlands.

THE Regent approved of every part of William's conduct on this occaſion, except his allowing the reformers to hold their meetings within the town. In order to ſatisfy her on this head, he repreſented, that he had granted them this indulgence from a conviction which experience had already confirmed, that by means of it he could more eaſily prevent the pernicious effects of their extravagance; that when they were under his own eye, or that of the magiſtrates, their aſſemblies were not near ſo numerous as formerly; their preachers were not ſo apt to indulge their enthuſiaſm, or to uſe indecent freedoms with the government; nor the people ſo apt to be inflamed, as when they aſſembled without reſtraint in the open fields. This meaſure, he added, was not only expedient, but neceſſary. There was no room for authority or perſuaſion. The reformers had ſhewn themſelves unalterably determined to ſet up their worſhip within the city, whether he had permitted them or not. Their aſſem-

blies in the country had generally amounted to twenty-four or twenty-five thouſand. Even in the town they were ſeldom leſs than ten thouſand. He had no army to reduce ſo great a number to obedience; and not a ſingle perſon among the Catholic inhabitants could be perſuaded to take up arms againſt them [x]. BOOK VII. 1566.

AFTER quieting the diſturbances in Antwerp, the Prince ſet out for the provinces of Holland and Zealand, where his preſence was equally neceſſary. There to, as in Antwerp, he employed all his power and influence; and did more towards quelling the tumultuous ſpirit of the reformers, than any other perſon could have done, without an armed force to overawe them. He perſuaded them to reſtore the churches which they had uſurped; and, except in one or two places, they were ſatisfied with the liberty which the Regent was willing to allow, of holding their aſſemblies for religious worſhip in the ſuburbs of the towns, or in the country.

COUNT Egmont was no leſs active in his department. From natural temper, as well as from political principles, no man was more averſe to harſhneſs and ſeverity; yet being Count Egmont's ſucceſs.

[x] Brandt. Van Meteren, lib. ii.

ſtrongly

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ſtrongly prompted on this occaſion by his deſire of gratifying the King, he was at the utmoſt pains to diſcover the rioters, and puniſhed many of them with rigour. He reſtored the prieſts to their functions, opened the churches which had been ſhut, and reduced all the Proteſtants within his government to the neceſſity of acquieſcing in the conditions which the Regent had preſcribed.

Count Horn's ſucceſs.

COUNT Horn likewiſe acted with uncommon ſpirit and vigour in the city of Tournay, where the diſorders had riſen to a greater height than in other places. The inhabitants of that city, to the number of ſix thouſand, having taken arms, and laid ſiege to the garriſon, they ſoon reduced it to ſuch extremity, as obliged the commander to inform the Regent, that if ſhe did not ſend him immediate relief, he could not hold out longer than one day. She had not troops ſufficient to oppoſe ſo great a force; nor was there any other expedient in her power, by which ſhe could preſerve the garriſon from ſurrendering, but that of ſending Count Horn, their governor's [y] brother, to intercede with the inhabitants. The Count forced his way, at the hazard of his life, into the midſt of them; and with great addreſs perſuaded them not only

[y] The Baron de Montigny, at this time in Spain.

to

to desist from the blockade, but to lay down their arms, to yield up the churches which they had usurped, and to rest satisfied with certain places of worship which he had assigned them without the city [z]. BOOK VII. 1566.

Grounds of Philip's aversion to these noblemen.

From this representation of the conduct of the Prince of Orange and the Counts Horn and Egmont, they had very little reason, it should seem, to dread the King's displeasure. For they were not less active, nor less successful, than the other Governors [a], with whom Philip is said to have been entirely satisfied. But the disapprobation which they had discovered of his measures of government some years before; the objections which they had urged against his retaining the Spanish forces in the Low Countries; the necessity to which they had reduced him, of removing Granvelle; their frequent remonstrances in the council against the Inquisition and edicts; and the attachment which they had ever shewn to the liberty and constitutional privileges of the provinces: all these causes had alienated him entirely from them, and had begotten in his dark revengeful mind, a degree of hatred and resentment, which neither time, repentance, nor faithful services, could erase.

[z] Brandt, Meteren, &c.

[a] The Counts Aremberg and Megen.

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THESE noblemen had been disappointed of the private, as well as public advantages which they expected to derive from the removal of Granvelle. Viglius and Count Barlaimont were equally their enemies as the Cardinal, and equally disposed to put malicious interpretations on their conduct. In these they were powerfully seconded by Granvelle; who, some time after his leaving the Netherlands, had been called to Madrid, where he enjoyed his wonted influence. This he did not fail to employ against his enemies in the Netherlands; and he found it easy to persuade the King, that in secret they had been abettors of all the disturbances which had arisen. Philip was therefore fired with indignation against them, and resolved sooner or later to make them feel the weight of his resentment. At present, however, he thought it necessary to conceal his sentiments; and in his answer to the account of the late transactions transmitted to him by the Regent, he expressed his gratitude for the zeal that had been discovered in his service, and exhorted her, and the Governors of the provinces, to continue their endeavours to allay the tumults in the best manner which the present circumstances would permit.

Forces levied.

WITH this answer he sent money, and an order for raising a body of Catholic troops, upon

upon whoſe fidelity he could depend for an abſolute compliance with his will. BOOK VII. 1566.

THE Regent was not remiſs in executing this order. She immediately levied a body of cavalry, and five regiments of infantry; of which ſhe gave the command to the Counts Erbeſtian, Charles of Mansfelt, Reuls, Baron Schomberg, and the Sieur de Hierges, ſon of Count Barlaimont.

THE Prince of Orange and the Counts Horn and Egmont could eaſily diſcern the deſign of this armament; and they declared their diſapprobation of it in the council, as a meaſure calculated to rekindle the flames of diſcord and ſedition.

THEY were at the ſame time informed by letters from the Marquis of Mons, and the Baron of Montigny, that whatever public anſwer had been ſent from the court of Spain to the Ducheſs of Parma, it was known to every perſon at Madrid, that the King was highly offended at the conceſſions which they had made lately to the Proteſtants. That they were conſidered as fomenters of the tumults, and encouragers of hereſy. That the King and his miniſters talked now more explicitly than they had hitherto done. The compro- Diſcovery of Philip's deſigns.

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miſe had no other name given it but that of a conſpiracy; and the popular inſurrections were never mentioned but as an open rebellion. There was no longer any room to doubt that the King, by the advice of Granvelle and Alva, was determined to wreak his reſentment on all concerned, and particularly on them, whom he conſidered as the moſt guilty. And although at firſt domeſtic forces only were to be employed, yet their operations would ſoon be ſeconded by thoſe of Spain.

THE Prince of Orange had ſeveral times deſired leave of the Regent to reſign his employments; alleging, that it was impoſſible for him at once to diſcharge his duty to his country, and to ſatisfy the King. The Regent had as often refuſed to conſent to his requeſt; and had accompanied her refuſal with expreſſions of high regard, and with entreaties that he would not forſake her at a time when his aſſiſtance was more than ever neceſſary. On the preſent occaſion he made the ſame application to the King, who gave him the ſame anſwer, and employed the ſame expreſſions of regard and confidence [b].

BUT the Prince had received intelligence of

[b] Bentivoglio. See the letter annexed to William's Apology.

Philip's

Philip's moſt ſecret councils, and he knew that his real ſentiments were entirely different from thoſe which he profeſſed. Through a correſpondence which he held in France, he had procured a copy of a letter to the Regent, from Alva the Spaniſh miniſter at Paris, which confirmed the information that had been tranſmitted by the Marquis of Mons and the Baron of Montigny. In this letter, Alva particularly inſiſted on the preſent favourable opportunity of eſtabliſhing in the Low Countries that unlimited authority which the King had long ſo earneſtly deſired. He adviſed the Regent, as matters were not yet ripe for execution, to meet the ſmooth faces of Orange, Horn, and Egmont, with the ſame artifice which they had employed; and concluded with informing her, that the King, who knew them to be fomenters of all the diſturbances which had happened, would ſoon pay them the wages of their iniquity; and had ſworn to puniſh *them* and the other inhabitants of the Netherlands in the moſt exemplary manner [c].

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THIS letter the Prince of Orange communicated to his brother Count Lewis, and to the Counts Egmont, Horn, Hoogſtraten, and ſeve-

1567. Conference at Dendremonde.

[c] The concluding words of the letter are, "in a manner, that would make the ears of all Chriſtendom tingle, even though it ſhould put in danger all the reſt of his dominions." Brandt, 216. Reidanus, p. 3. Meteren, lib. ii.

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ral others of the nobility; who met together at Dendremonde, to deliberate concerning the meaſures which it would be proper to purſue. Count Lewis, who was naturally bold and ardent, urged that they ſhould immediately incite the people to take up arms; but his brother the Prince of Orange diſapproved of this propoſal, and obſerved, that if they ſhould begin to wage war in the preſent ſituation of affairs, they would neither be able to carry it on with ſucceſs, nor to juſtify their conduct in undertaking it. That the Inquiſition and edicts were in effect aboliſhed; and a reaſonable liberty allowed in matters of religion. That, conſidering the tumults which had been excited, the Regent could not be greatly blamed for raiſing forces; eſpecially ſince ſhe had levied none but ſuch as were natives of the Netherlands. At preſent they could not allege any good reaſon for having recourſe to arms; but he believed that ere long the beſt and ſtrongeſt reaſons would not be wanting. And in the mean time his advice was, not only to be on their guard themſelves, but likewiſe to [illegible]n in the people a ſenſe of the danger with which they were threatened, that they might be prepared for entering upon action when the proper ſeaſon ſhould arrive.

HAD Count Egmont been of the ſame opinion

nion with the Prince of Orange on this occa- BOOK
ſion, it is not to be doubted that all who were VII.
preſent would have concurred in the meaſures 1567.
which he adviſed; and conſidering the greatneſs of their power and popularity, they might have induced the King to drop his plan, by making him ſenſible of the difficulty of carrying it into execution.

But they were all exceedingly diſappointed when they heard Count Egmont declare, "That far from taking part in any meaſure that might be offenſive to the King, he looked upon every ſuch meaſure as equally imprudent and undutiful. That from the enormities which had been committed, the King had ſome reaſon to entertain ſuſpicions of their vigilance. That, for his own part, he was reſolved, if poſſible, to wipe out theſe ſuſpicions, by exerting himſelf ſtrenuouſly to reduce the people to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity and obedience; which if he and the other Governors could accompliſh in their reſpective provinces, he believed they ſhould hear no more of the Spaniſh forces; for, after what the King had repeatedly told him when in Spain, he could not regard what he had heard of his intention to rob the Netherlands of their liberty."

The Prince of Orange and the other diſcontented lords ſpent ſeveral hours in attempt-

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ing to bring him over to their opinion, but in vain. Although, as above related, the Count had received ſufficient proof of Philip's inſincerity in his diſcourſe with him at Madrid, yet the concern which he had appeared to take in the intereſt of his family, joined to his profeſſions of perſonal attachment, had impoſed upon him ſo far as to prevent him from perceiving the danger to which he was expoſed [d].

The nobility concur with the Regent.

THUS diſappointed of the aſſiſtance of a perſon of ſo great influence, the other lords ſaw that nothing remained for them, but to conciliate Philip's favour, by an active concurrence with the Regent in the meaſures which ſhe was about to employ for the perfect ſettlement of the country.

Her ſucceſs in ſuppreſſing the reformers.

A GREAT deal had been already done for this end by the Governors of the provinces; but matters were not entirely upon the footing on which the Regent deſired to have them placed. The zeal of the reformers burnt with too much violence to be reſtrained by the authority of the magiſtrates, and ſtill continued to diſcover itſelf in the moſt unjuſtifiable irregularities; particularly in the city of Valenciennes, where the common people had almoſt

[d] Bentivoglio.

univerſally

univerſally embraced the reformation. The ſtrength and populouſneſs of that city, its neighbourhood to France, and the correſpondence which the people held with the Proteſtants in that kingdom, were powerful motives with the Regent for deſiring to have a garriſon placed in it, compoſed of thoſe troops which had been lately raiſed. She wiſhed to have had them admitted with the conſent of the inhabitants; but finding that it could not be obtained, ſhe declared them rebels to the King, and ordered the Lord of Noircharmes to beſiege the town. The citizens ſeemed at firſt reſolved to defend themſelves; but when they ſaw the batteries ready to play, their courage failed, and they ſurrendered the city at diſcretion. Noircharmes no ſooner entered it, than he ordered the governor and his ſon, the Proteſtant miniſters, and ſeveral of the inhabitants who had been the moſt active in the late diſturbances, to be put to death; after which, having prohibited the public exerciſe of the reformed religion, he left a ſtrong garriſon in the place, under the command of a rigid Catholic. 1567.

THE ſucceſs of the Regent's arms filled the Proteſtants with terror, and inſpired the Catholics with freſh courage and reſolution. She was not leſs ſucceſsful in Tournay, Bois le Duc, and

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and many other places. She even perſuaded the city of Antwerp to receive a garriſon, by means of which the Catholic party acquired ſo great authority, and the reformers were ſo intimidated, that, without oppoſition, ſhe baniſhed all the Proteſtant preachers, and aboliſhed the exerciſe of their religion[e].

Count Brederode.

COUNT Brederode and ſome others of the confederated lords had recourſe at this time to their firſt expedient of a petition or remonſtrance. But neither the Regent nor the confederates were now in the ſame ſituation as formerly. She had no longer any reaſon to be afraid of them, ſince ſhe was ſo well provided with an armed force; and many of them having before this time become ſenſible of their weakneſs, had ſtudied to convince her that they were now entirely devoted to her ſervice.

COUNT Brederode deſired to be admitted into her preſence, but this ſhe refuſed; and vouchſafed no other anſwer to his petition, but "That he, and thoſe who concurred with him, had wreſted her conceſſions into a ſenſe which ſhe had never meant; and, by encouraging riots and tumults, had broken their agreement with her, and thereby forfeited their title to complain[f]."

[e] Bentivoglio, p. 47.

[f] Brandt and Bentivoglio.

From this answer Brederode perceived there was no other resource left him but force of arms. Resolved to try his fortune in this way, he went immediately into Holland, and having drawn together a body of troops, he fortified himself in the town of Vianen. But the Counts Aremberg and Megen coming suddenly upon him, he was soon reduced to the necessity of retiring into Germany. He returned to the Low Countries in the year following, and died in the town of Harnhoff[g]. He was a person much respected by the Protestants, but appears to have possessed more zeal than capacity, and to have been in no respect qualified to be the leader of a party. 1567.

Tranquillity established.

After Count Brederode was expelled, the reformers had nowhere courage to lift their heads. The storm which had raged with so much fury was succeeded by a perfect calm. The churches were repaired, the altars restored, the images replaced, and the magistrates respected and obeyed, in the same manner as before the disturbances began; while the discontented lords seemed now to have no other ambition, but to surpass one another in giving proofs of their attachment to the Regent, and of their zeal in the service of the church and of the King[h].

[g] Brandt. [h] Bentivoglio, p. 48.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK VIII.

WHILE the Ducheſs of Parma was thus ſucceſsfully employed in quieting the diſturbances in the Netherlands, Philip was only deliberating on the ſubject. The Regent had joined with the confederated lords in repreſenting, that his preſence would prove the moſt effectual remedy for the evils which prevailed; and this was the opinion too of ſome of his Spaniſh miniſters. He had long talked as if he intended to comply with their counſel. He had even given orders for preparing ſhips for his voyage, and all Europe was in expectations of its taking place. But if he was ever ſerious in propoſing it, he was eaſily induced to alter his intention, by the dread of

1567. Deliberations at the court of Spain.

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those inconveniencies or dangers with which he apprehended it might be accompanied. These inconveniencies and dangers would have been disregarded by the late Emperor, who undertook a journey to the Netherlands, and put himself in the power of Francis, his rival and antagonist, in order to quell an insurrection in the city of Ghent. But Philip had neither the same personal courage and activity as Charles, nor that degree of affection for his subjects in the Low Countries which was necessary to make him expose himself to danger on their account; and through his whole reign he chose rather to issue forth orders from his cabinet, than to execute his schemes in person [a].

Philip resolves to send the Duke of Alva to the Netherlands.

HAVING therefore resolved not to go to the Netherlands himself, it remained for him to determine, whether he should send thither an army, to compel the people to submit to his will, and to punish them for their disobedience; or should listen to their remonstrances and complaints. His counsellors differed widely in their opinions from each other. The Duke of Feria and the prince of Evoli advised him to abolish the Inquisition and edicts, and to make trial of gentler and more indulgent methods

[a] Bentivoglio, ann. 1567. Herrera, lib. ix.

of

of dealing with the reformers; ſince he had ſufficiently experienced that ſevere ones were not likely to be attended with ſucceſs. But the Duke of Alva, on the other hand, and Cardinal Granvelle, repreſented, that nothing but too much lenity in the treatment of the heretics in the Low Countries had been the cauſe of that inſolence, and thoſe enormities, in which they had diſcovered an equal contempt of the true religion and of the royal authority. This was not the proper ſeaſon, they alleged, for the exerciſe of clemency. The King had too long received laws from the Netherlands, inſtead of giving them. The people in theſe provinces had long and loudly boaſted of their privileges. If they were not ſpeedily chaſtiſed for their inſolence and preſumption, they would ere long diſpute the King's having any right to command them, and form themſelves into an independent ſtate, in oppoſition to *him*, as the Swiſs Cantons had done formerly in oppoſition to his German anceſtors; or, which was ſtill more likely, the Prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horn, would, under the pretence of defending the liberties of the people, reduce them under their own power, and divide the ſeveral provinces as a prey among themſelves. Beſides, what happier opportunity, ſaid Alva, can be wiſhed for than the preſent, for introducing an army into the Low Countries, in order to eſtabliſh

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the royal authority there on the ſame deſirable footing as in Spain and Italy[b]?

No arguments could be better ſuited to the temper and inclinations of the King; and accordingly, without further heſitation, he reſolved to ſend to the Netherlands a ſtrong and well-diſciplined army, under the command of the Duke of Alva, whom, from long experience, he knew to be qualified in every reſpect for executing the plan of tyranny and oppreſſion which he was determined to purſue.

The Regent remonſtrates againſt it.

In the mean time the Ducheſs of Parma had reduced the affairs of the Low Countries into the ſituation which is above deſcribed. She ſent ſpeedy information to the King of the ſucceſs with which her endeavours had been accompanied; and repreſented to him, that there was not now the leaſt occaſion for the army which he had begun to prepare, ſince the tumults were allayed, the rioters puniſhed, the heretics ſilenced, the church reinſtated in its wonted authority, garriſons put in ſuſpected places, and the whole country ſettled in a ſtate of perfect order and tranquillity.

Had Philip been in reality influenced by the motives which he pretended, he would, on

[b] Bentivoglio.

receiving

receiving this intelligence, have countermanded the orders which he had iſſued for the march of the troops. But in iſſuing theſe orders it is impoſſible to believe, that he was prompted either by zeal for religion, or concern for the welfare of his Flemiſh ſubjects; but partly by the ambition of eſtabliſhing among them a deſpotic government on the ruins of their ancient conſtitution, (a meaſure which the diſtance of the Netherlands from his ſeat of empire muſt have rendered particularly deſirable to a prince of ſo imperious a temper,) and partly by an implacable reſentment againſt the Prince of Orange and the other lords, who had diſcovered a jealouſy of his deſigns.

Regardless, therefore, of the change which the affairs in the Netherlands had lately undergone, Philip perſiſted in his purpoſe. The Duke of Alva went by ſea for Italy, and thence, after having aſſembled the ſeveral bodies of troops which were cantoned there, amounting to eight thouſand foot and one thouſand five hundred horſe, he directed his march towards the Low Countries, firſt through the territories of the Duke of Savoy, and then through Burgundy and Lorrain. His army was augmented on its march, by the addition of three hundred Burgundian cavalry, and four thouſand German foot, and ſoon reached

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the province of Luxemburg, without meeting with any moleſtation by the way. After putting garriſons in ſome of the frontier towns, he ſet out for Bruſſels, where he arrived in the month of Auguſt one thouſand five hundred and ſixty ſeven [c].

The aſtoniſhment excited by the arrival of Alva and the Spaniards.

His arrival ſpread great conſternation and aſtoniſhment over all the provinces. Many thouſand perſons had before this time left the Netherlands; among whom was the Prince of Orange, who, having long foreſeen the impending ſtorm, had withdrawn with his family and friends to his country of Naſſau in Germany. He knew well how inveterate thoſe prejudices were, which the King had for ſeveral years entertained againſt him; and could not account for his ſending to the Low Countries ſo formidable an army commanded by a man ſo tyrannical as Alva, without ſuppoſing that he was determined to rule the people with a rod of iron; and, at the ſame time, to wreak his vengeance upon him, and all ſuch of the nobility as had ventured to diſpute his will.

The Prince of Orange retires to Germany.

The Prince would gladly have prevailed upon Count Egmont to accompany him, and endeavoured to open his eyes to the approach-

[c] Herrera, lib. ix. c. 3.

ing

ing danger. He repeated the evidence which he had formerly laid before him of the King's intentions, and he reminded him of the imperious character of Alva; who, from being their enemy and rival, was become their maſter, and would not fail to employ his power to accompliſh their ruin. But Count Egmont was the father of a numerous family, which he could not ſupport with dignity in any other country but the Netherlands. Conſcious too of his fidelity, and of the important ſervices which he had performed to the King, he could not be perſuaded that Philip was inſincere in the profeſſions of friendſhip which he had made to him in Spain; nor could he believe that he would indulge his reſentment any farther, than to puniſh thoſe who had been concerned in the late diſorders.

THE Prince of Orange finding the Count inflexible, left him, with theſe words: "You are the bridge, Count Egmont, by which the Duke of Alva will paſs into the Netherlands, and he will no ſooner paſs it, than he will break it down. You will repent of deſpiſing the warning which I have given you, but I dread that your repentance will be too late."

IN the interval between the departure of the Prince of Orange, in April one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſeven, and the arrival of the

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Duke of Alva in the month of Auguſt following, Count Egmont perceived his importance much diminiſhed; but he reſolved to ſubmit to his preſent diſagreeable ſituation, and even humbled himſelf ſo far as to receive and welcome Alva in the province of Luxemburg, where he made him a preſent of two fine horſes, as a mark of his deſire to live with him on amicable terms. Alva received this preſent with the haughtineſs that was natural to him; but in all his behaviour towards the Count, he diſſembled his intention, till he was prepared to put it in execution.

Impriſonment of the Counts Egmont and Horn.

ONE of his firſt acts after his arrival at Bruſſels was, to caſt both Count Egmont and Count Horn into priſon. As the deed itſelf was tyrannical, ſo the manner of it was inſidious. Count Egmont having been firſt deceived himſelf, was employed to draw Count Horn into the ſnare[d]. When Alva found that their apprehenſions were laid aſleep, he deſired one day that they would come to his houſe, to give him their opinion with regard to a citadel which he propoſed to build in Antwerp; and after the buſineſs for which they had been called was over, they were carried on different pretences into ſeparate apartments, Count Egmont by Alva himſelf, and Count Horn by his ſon Fre-

September.

[d] Strada, p. 215.

deric

deric de Toledo. "Count Egmont," ſaid Alva, "deliver your ſword; it is the will of the King that you give it up, and go to priſon." The Count, aſtoniſhed at this unexpected declaration, would have attempted to eſcape; but obſerving himſelf immediately ſurrounded by Alva's guards, he delivered his ſword, ſaying, "By this ſword the cauſe of the King has been oftener than once ſucceſsfully defended[e]." Both he and Count Horn proteſted, that, as Knights of the Golden Fleece, they could be judged only by their Peers, and impriſoned only by their authority. But no regard was paid to this proteſtation. They were hurried away to priſon, in a place at a diſtance from Bruſſels, and out of the confines of the province where they reſided; in violation of a ſacred privilege, which, by a fundamental law, belonged even to the loweſt of the people[f]. BOOK VIII. 1567.

INTELLIGENCE of this event (which was immediately followed by the impriſonment of Count Egmont's ſecretary, the Lord of Bickerzel, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction) was ſoon conveyed to the remoteſt corners of the Netherlands, and filled the minds of the Catholics as well as Proteſtants with the moſt diſquieting apprehenſions. It was no ſecurity, The people fly into foreign parts.

[e] Strada, p. 215. [f] Grotius and Bentivoglio.

BOOK VIII. 1567.

they ſaw, againſt the King's reſentment, to have adhered to the profeſſion of the Catholic faith, nor even to have been active in oppoſing the reformers. None were conſcious of ſo much merit of this kind, and none had diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo highly in the ſervice of the King, as thoſe illuſtrious perſons who were now devoted to deſtruction. Men therefore of all ranks were greatly alarmed, and began to abandon their habitations; and it was computed that, at this time, and a little before Alva's arrival, more than a hundred thouſand perſon's fled into foreign parts. Great numbers of theſe were the moſt induſtrious of the people, who transferred their knowledge of arts and manufactures into the countries which gave them refuge; and thereby enriched the dominions of Philip's enemies whilſt they impoveriſhed his own [g].

The Ducheſs of Parma leaves the Netherlands.

THE impriſonment of the Counts Horn and Egmont was matter of ſurpriſe to no perſon ſo much as to the Regent. Philip had aſſured her, that although he had conferred on Alva the command of the army, yet the authority of Regent was ſtill to remain in her hands; and the royal commiſſion, which Alva produced on his firſt arrival, was agreeable to this declara-

[g] Van Meteren, p. 80.

tion.

tion. But ſhe could not perſuade herſelf that the Duke would have preſumed to make ſo violent an encroachment on her prerogative, by the impriſonment of two of the firſt perſons in the State, unleſs he had been inveſted with an authority much ſuperior to that of which ſhe had been informed. The King had not been ingenuous, ſhe ſuſpected, in his conduct towards her, and had conferred powers on Alva by which her authority as Regent was impaired. This ſhe conſidered as a proof that Philip had liſtened to the calumnies of her enemies, and did not repoſe in her that truſt and confidence which ſhe was conſcious her zeal to promote his intereſt had deſerved. She judged that it would be derogatory to her honour, to remain any longer in the Netherlands; and immediately applied for liberty to retire. After repeated ſolicitations ſhe at length obtained permiſſion, and left Bruſſels in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, much regretted by all the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and particularly by the Proteſtants, to whom her adminiſtration appeared mild and gentle, when they compared it with that which they had reaſon to expect under their preſent government[h].

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[h] Bentivoglio and Strada.

BOOK VIII.

1567. Alva's abſolute authority.

AFTER the departure of the Ducheſs of Parma, the authority of Regent remained entire in the hands of Alva; and by the royal mandate which he publiſhed, it appeared, that Philip had veſted him with higher powers than had ever been beſtowed on any former governor. They were much higher than as ſovereign of the Low Countries he had a right to beſtow, and were utterly ſubverſive of all the laws and privileges which at his inauguration he had ſolemnly ſworn to maintain. But before this time he had had recourſe to that method of juſtifying iniquity, of which the votaries of the Romiſh church have ſo often availed themſelves; he had obtained from the Pope a diſpenſation from his oath, and no longer diſguiſed his intention to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government in the Netherlands, on the ruins of the ancient conſtitution. Beſides the abſolute command of the army, Alva's commiſſion bore, that the King had conferred upon him the preſidency of the three councils, of ſtate, of juſtice, and the finances; with full power to puniſh or to pardon crimes of every ſort, as he ſhould judge to be expedient.

HE began his adminiſtration with publiſhing a declaration, that a month ſhould be allowed to the reformers for preparing to leave the country, without receiving during that ſpace any

any trouble or moleſtation; and at the ſame time he iſſued ſecret orders to the inquiſitors to proceed immediately in the execution of their edicts with the utmoſt rigour. BOOK VIII. 1567.

The Council of Tumults.

To aſſiſt and encourage theſe men in the exerciſe of their office, he inſtituted a new council, to which he gave the name of the Council of Tumults, which he appointed to take cognizance of the late diſorders, and to ſearch after and puniſh all thoſe who had been concerned, directly or indirectly, in promoting them. This council conſiſted of twelve perſons, the greateſt part of whom were Spaniards. The Duke was the preſident himſelf, and in his abſence, Vargas, a Spaniſh lawyer, diſtinguiſhed above all his countrymen by his avarice and cruelty [1].

Firſt deed of the council.

One of the firſt deeds of this tribunal, which might well be called, as the Flemings termed it, the Council of Blood, was to declare, That to have preſented, or ſubſcribed, any petition againſt the late erection of biſhoprics, or againſt the edicts or Inquiſition, or to have permitted the exerciſe of the new religion under any pretence whatever; or to inſinuate by word of mouth or writing, that the King has no right to aboliſh thoſe pretended privileges which have

[1] Brandt, p. 260. 265, &c. Van Meteren, lib. iii.

been

BOOK VIII. 1567.

been the ſource of ſo much impiety, is treaſon againſt the King, and juſtly merits the ſevereſt puniſhment he ſhall be pleaſed to inflict [k].

The perſecution.

THE Governor had already ſtationed his army in ſuch a manner as he thought would moſt effectually ſecure the execution of this cruel, undiſtinguiſhing reſolution of the council. In Antwerp he built a citadel, and compelled the inhabitants to defray the expence which this inſtrument of their own ſlavery had coſt him. He began to build citadels in other places; and, in the mean time, he ſpread his troops over the country in ſuch formidable bodies, that the people, over whom they exerciſed the moſt oppreſſive tyranny, either forſook their habitations, or gave themſelves up to deſpair. Above twenty thouſand perſons eſcaped at this time into France, England, and the Proteſtant provinces of Germany [l]. Great numbers were prevented from flying, and ſeized whilſt they were meditating flight by the cruel hand of the perſecutor. The innocent were overwhelmed with horror at the ſight of the dreadful puniſhments inflicted on the guilty; and lamented that this once flouriſhing country, ſo much diſtinguiſhed for the mildneſs of its government and the happineſs of its people, ſhould

[k] Van Meteren, lib. iii. p. 66.
[l] Brandt and Bentivoglio.

now

now preſent no other object to view, but confiſcations, impriſonments, and blood[m].

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THERE was no diſtinction made of age, ſex, or condition. Perſons in their earlieſt youth; perſons worn out, and ready to ſink under the infirmities of age; perſons of the higheſt rank, as well as the loweſt of the people, on the ſlighteſt evidence, and ſometimes even on bare ſuſpicion, were alike ſacrificed to the rapacity and cruelty of the Governor and his aſſociates.

Cruelty of Alva and his aſſociates.

ALTHOUGH in the ſpace of a few months upwards of eighteen hundred perſons ſuffered by the hand of the executioner; yet the Duke of Alva's thirſt of blood was not ſatiated. Priſoners were not brought in ſo faſt, nor ſeized in ſuch conſiderable numbers, as he deſired. The time of Carnival was approaching, when he expected that he ſhould find the reformers off their guard. They would then leave their ſkulking places, he ſuppoſed, and viſit their families, while the Catholics were immerſed in mirth and diſſipation. On this occaſion his ſoldiers, accompanied by the inquiſitors, like ſo many wolves, were let looſe among the Proteſtants; who were ſeized in the middle of the night in their beds, and from thence dragged to priſons and dungeons.

[m] Bentivoglio, p. 58.

MANY

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MANY who had been only once preſent at the Proteſtant aſſemblies, even although they declared their faith in the Catholic religion to be firm and unſhaken, were hanged or drowned; while thoſe who profeſſed themſelves to be Proteſtants, or refuſed to abjure their religion, were put to the rack, in order to make them diſcover their aſſociates; they were then dragged by horſes to the place of execution, and their bodies being committed to the flames, their ſufferings were prolonged with ingenious cruelty.

To prevent them from bearing teſtimony, in the midſt of their torments, to the truth of their profeſſion, their executioners were not ſatisfied with barely confining their tongues; they firſt ſcorched them with a glowing iron, and then ſcrewed them into a machine, contrived on purpoſe to produce the moſt excruciating pain [a].

IT is ſhocking to recount the numberleſs inſtances of inhuman cruelty perpetrated by Alva and his aſſociates, eſpecially when we conſider that the unhappy victims were not thoſe hardened wretches, who, by daring and bloody deeds, are guilty of violating the laws

[a] Brandt and Van Meteren, p. 69.

of nature and humanity, but were generally persons of the most inoffensive characters; who, having imbibed the new opinions in religion, had too much probity to disguise their sentiments; or, at the worst, had been betrayed into indiscretions by their zeal for propagating truths, which they believed to be of the highest importance to the glory of God and the happiness of men. BOOK VIII. 1567.

ALVA communicated a great share of his savage spirit to the inferior magistrates; who knew that they could not recommend themselves more effectually either to the King or to the Governor, than by the exercise of rigour and severity. Several of them, however, whose humanity prevailed over the considerations of safety and interest, were induced to give the Protestants timely warning to withdraw. Even the members of the bloody council began to feel their hearts revolt against the reiterated instances of cruelty, to which their sanction was required. Some of them applied for dismission; others had the courage to absent themselves; and out of the twelve, of which the council was composed, there were seldom above three or four present [o].

ABOUT

[o] This appears from the sentences which they passed. Many of these were subscribed only by two or three; as that, for instance, against Anthony Van Straten, which was signed

BOOK VIII.

1567. Alva's tyranny and arrogance.

About this time the magiſtrates of Antwerp, whoſe behaviour from the beginning of Alva's adminiſtration had been extremely obſequious, thought they might venture to interpoſe in favour of certain citizens whom the inquiſitors had impriſoned. Their petition was conceived in the humbleſt terms; and they repreſented, that although the perſons for whom they pleaded, had been preſent two or three times in the Proteſtant aſſemblies, yet it was only curioſity that led them thither; they were ſtill true ſons of the church, and faithful ſubjects to the King; and they had remained in the country till the time of their impriſonment, on the faith of the declaration which the Governor had made, that they ſhould not receive any diſturbance on account of what had paſſed, till the expiration of a month after his arrival in the Netherlands.

To this petition Alva haughtily replied, That he was amazed at their folly in preſuming to apply to him in behalf of heretics; and they ſhould have reaſon, he added, to repent bitterly of their conduct, if they did not act

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ſigned only by Vargas and two others. Except during the firſt two or three months, Alva ſeldom attended, but all the ſentences were dictated by him; and his preſence was rendered unneceſſary by the active and unrelenting cruelty of Vargas. Grimeſtone.

more

more prudently in future; for they might rest assured, that he would hang them all, for an example to deter others from the like presumption [p]. BOOK VIII. 1567.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, some of the Catholic nobility, and Viglius, who had formerly concurred in all the arbitrary measures of Granvelle, but whose heart melted at the present misery of his countrymen, had the courage to remonstrate to the King against the Governor's barbarity. Even the Pope exhorted him to greater moderation. Philip, however, refused to countermand the orders which he had given, till he should hear from Vargas; who advised him to persevere in the plan which he had adopted, assured him of its success, and at the same time flattered him with the hopes of an inexhaustible fund of wealth that would arise from confiscation. Vargas being seconded by the inquisitors, at Madrid, Philip lent a deaf ear to the remonstrance which had been made to him, and the persecutions were continued with the same unrelenting fury as before [q].

THE people of the Netherlands were confirmed in their despair of obtaining mercy from Philip, by the accounts transmitted to them at this time from Spain, of his cruel History of Don Carlos.

[p] Brandt, p. 265. [q] Brandt. Thuanus, c. xliii. p. 9.

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treatment of his ſon Don Carlos. Various relations are given of that tragical and myſterious affair by the cotemporary hiſtorians; but the following appears the moſt conſiſtent and probable. This young Prince had from his earlieſt youth been noted for the impetuoſity and violence of his temper; and though he never gave reaſon to think favourably of his underſtanding, or his capacity for government, he had diſcovered the moſt intemperate ambition to be admitted by his father to a ſhare in the adminiſtration of his dominions. Philip, whether from jealouſy, or a conviction of his ſon's unfitneſs for any important truſt, refuſed to gratify his ambition, and behaved towards him with diſtance and reſerve; while he gave all his confidence to the Duke of Alva, Ruy Gomez de Sylva, and the Preſident Spinoſa, againſt whom Don Carlos, partly on this account, and partly becauſe he conſidered them as ſpies upon his conduct, had conceived the moſt irreconcilcable averſion. In this diſpoſition he did not ſcruple, on different occaſions, to cenſure the meaſures of his father's government, and particularly thoſe which had been adopted in the Netherlands. He had ſometimes expreſſed his compaſſion for the people there; had threatened the Duke of Alva, and even made an attempt upon his life, for accepting the government; had been ſuſpected of holding ſecret interviews

views with the Marquis of Mons and the Baron de Montigny; and had afterwards formed the design of retiring into the Netherlands, with an intention to put himself at the head of the malcontents. BOOK VIII. 1567.

Of this design intelligence was carried by some of the courtiers to the King; who, after having consulted with the inquisitors at Madrid, as he usually did on matters of great importance and difficulty, resolved to prevent the Prince from putting his scheme in execution, by depriving him of his liberty. For this purpose he went into his chamber in the middle of the night, attended by some of his privy-counsellors and guards; and, after reproaching him with his undutiful behaviour, told him that he had come to exercise his paternal correction and chastisement. Then having dismissed all his attendants, he commanded him to be clothed in a dark-coloured mourning dress, and appointed guards to watch over him, and to confine him to his chamber. The high-spirited young Prince was extremely shocked at such unworthy treatment, and prayed his father and his attendants to put an immediate end to his life. He threw himself headlong into the fire, and would have put an end to his life had he not been prevented by the guards. During his confinement, his despair and 1568.

BOOK VIII. 1568. anguiſh roſe to a degree of frenzy. He would faſt ſometimes for whole days together, then eat voraciouſly, and endeavour to choke himſelf by ſwallowing his victuals without chewing. Several princes interceded for his releaſe, as did many of the principal Spaniſh nobles. But the father was relentleſs and inexorable. After ſix months impriſonment, he cauſed the Inquiſition of Madrid to paſs ſentence againſt his ſon, and, under the cover of that ſentence, ordered poiſon to be given him, which in a few hours put a period to his miſerable life at the age of twenty-three [r].

February. PHILIP had, before this time, given a proof of the cruelty of his diſpoſition; when, as above related, he choſe to be preſent at the execution of his Proteſtant ſubjects in Spain. His ſingular conduct on that occaſion, and the compoſure with which he beheld the torments of the unhappy ſufferers, were aſcribed by ſome to the power of ſuperſtition; while they were regarded by others, as the moſt convincing evidence of the ſincerity of his zeal for the true religion. But his ſeverity towards his ſon did not admit of any ſuch interpretation. It was conſidered by all the world as a proof that his heart was dead to the ſentiments of natural affection and humanity;

[r] Compare Thuanus, lib. xliii. c. viii. with Strada, lib. vii. p. 225, &c.

and

and his ſubjects were every where filled with aſtoniſhment. It ſtruck terror in a particular manner into the inhabitants of the Low Countries; who ſaw how vain it was to expect mercy from a prince who had ſo obſtinately refuſed to exerciſe it towards his own ſon; whoſe only crime, they believed, was his attachment to them, and his compaſſion for their calamities. BOOK VIII. 1568.

THIS unhappy people had no reſource left but in the wiſdom, public ſpirit, and extenſive influence of the Prince of Orange. Soon after the Duke of Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, William had been cited to appear before him; and a declaration had been publiſhed by Alva, in the name of the King, that in caſe of his appearance, the utmoſt lenity would be ſhewn him. But the Prince was too ſagacious to be caught in this ſnare. He refuſed to obey the citation, and aſſigned the following reaſons for his refuſal: The Prince of Orange cited to ſtand his trial.

"THE citation was of ſuch a nature," he ſaid, "that the Duke of Alva could not expect his compliance with it. It was contrary in ſeveral reſpects to the fundamental laws of the Netherlands; the time allowed him to make his appearance was not what the laws preſcribed; and was ſo ſhort, that, conſidering his diſtance from the place of trial, it was He refuſes to obey.

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utterly impoſſible for him to appear on the day appointed. The Duke of Alva was a judge, whoſe authority he muſt on every account decline; ſince, as a Knight of the Golden Fleece, he could be judged only by his peers; and, as an inhabitant of Brabant, by his fellow-citizens. It was a breach of his privileges to commit the power of judging him to a perſon who was qualified in neither of theſe reſpects; and when injuſtice was done him in the very nomination of his judge, he had little reaſon to hope for juſtice in the deciſion of his cauſe; eſpecially when he conſidered, that the Duke of Alva had long been his perſonal enemy, and had lately, without hearing what he had to ſay in his defence, proceeded on the ſuppoſition of his being guilty, and had ſeized violently, and ſent to Spain, his ſon the Count of Buren, who was purſuing his ſtudies in the univerſity of Louvain; truſting for the ſecurity of his perſon, to his unqueſtionable innocence, and the privileges of the place where he reſided."

His ſon carried to Spain.

His eſtates confiſcated.

AT the ſame time with the Prince of Orange, the Earls of Hoogſtraten and Culemberg, and ſeveral other noblemen, were cited to anſwer for their conduct; and, as ſoon as the ſhort term allowed to them for making their appearance was expired, Alva pronounced ſentence againſt them, and confiſcated their effects.

effects. He ordered the houſe of Count Culemberg in Bruſſels to be pulled down, becauſe the confederates had ſometimes held their aſſemblies in it; and he declared all the eſtates of the Prince of Orange, who (beſides his principality in the kingdom of France) poſſeſſed ſeveral in the Low Countries, and ſome of great extent in Burgundy, to be forfeited to the King; a conſiderable ſhare of the profits of which, if we may credit ſome hiſtorians, he either applied to his own uſe, or beſtowed on the numerous informers whom he employed. 1568.

He employs the interceſſion of the Emperor.

THE Prince of Orange was too well acquainted with Philip's inflexible temper, to expect that any conſideration or influence would prevail with him to redreſs his grievances; yet, that he might more clearly evince to the world the neceſſity which he lay under of having recourſe to arms, he ſent to the Emperor Maximilian a particular account of the treatment which he himſelf had received, and of the cruelty which the Duke of Alva was exerciſing againſt the people of the Netherlands; and intreated him to employ his good offices in *his* and their behalf. Maximilian, a prince entirely oppoſite in character to Philip, readily complied with this requeſt. To give his interceſſion the greater weight, he made choice of his brother Charles

BOOK VIII. 1568.

of Auſtria for his ambaſſador; and inſtructed him to repreſent, that in his opinion, and that of all the Princes in Germany, the preſent conduct of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries was no leſs impolitic than rigid and ſevere.

Philip's reply to the Emperor.

PHILIP's anſwer to this remonſtrance was ſuch as from his well-known character there was reaſon to expect. The ſeverities which had been employed, he ſaid, had not yet been found ſufficient to repreſs the pride and inſolence of his Flemiſh ſubjects; and he hoped the Emperor would take care not to permit any troops to be raiſed againſt him in Germany by the Prince of Orange and his aſſociates [s].

So haughty an anſwer, given to a Prince of the firſt rank in Europe, who was Philip's near relation, demonſtrated that it would be vain and ineffectual to make any farther attempt to divert him from his purpoſe. It contributed likewiſe to alienate Maximilian from his intereſt, and thereby facilitated the levies which were ſoon afterwards made in Germany for carrying on the war.

The Prince of Orange prepares for an invaſion of the Netherlands.

THE Prince of Orange, who for ſeveral months paſt had been ſolicited by the Flemiſh

[s] Ferreras, 1568.

exiles

exiles to take up arms, would willingly have deferred complying with their requeſt, in expectation of a more convenient ſeaſon, when Philip might be involved in war with ſome of the neighbouring nations, and have it leſs in his power to beſtow attention on the Netherlands. But the impatience of the exiles to return home, the great additions which the perſecutions had made to their numbers, and his dread that Alva, were he ſuffered to proceed, would eſtabliſh his power on too firm a foundation to be ſhaken by any force which could be brought againſt it; all theſe conſiderations concurred in determining him immediately to begin his preparations. BOOK VIII. 1568.

In order to raiſe money, he ſold his jewels, plate, and furniture. His brother, Count John of Naſſau, ſupplied him with a conſiderable ſum, and he received contributions from the Flemiſh exiles in London, Embden, Cleves, and other places, where they had taken ſhelter.

He was aware how unable the inhabitants of the Netherlands were to reſiſt the arms of Spain, unleſs ſupported by ſome foreign power. Philip was not, however, near ſo formidable at this time as during the life of Mary Queen of England, who knew no other law but her huſband's will, and never ſcrupled His hopes of aſſiſtance.

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to ſacrifice the intereſts of her people to his ambition. Had Mary been ſtill alive, and Philip in poſſeſſion of his former influence over the Engliſh councils, the inhabitants of the Netherlands would have ſtruggled for their liberties in vain. It was fortunate for them, that the Princeſs who ſat now upon the throne of England was led, both by inclination and intereſt, to adopt a ſyſtem of politics entirely contrary to that of Mary. For as Elizabeth had eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant religion in her own dominions, ſhe had before this time ſhewn herſelf determined to ſupport the Proteſtants of the neighbouring kingdoms. She had intereſted herſelf deeply in the civil wars of France, in favour of the Calviniſts, whilſt Philip gave aſſiſtance to the oppoſite party. And the Prince of Orange had reaſon to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes, that ſhe would not remain an idle ſpectator of what was paſſing in the Netherlands.

from the Queen of England,

He had conceived expectations likewiſe of obtaining ſuccour from the French Proteſtants; and with this view had communicated all his meaſures to their leaders, the Prince of Condé and the Admiral De Coligny. But his chief dependence was upon the Proteſtant Princes of Germany, whom, ever ſince he left the Netherlands, he had ſtrenuouſly endea-

endeavoured to perſuade, that if they did not exert themſelves with vigour, the liberties of the Netherlands would ſoon be entirely ſuppreſſed; and the trading cities, with the proſperity of which the intereſt of the higher provinces of Germany was inſeparably connected, would be changed into ſtrong holds, filled with Spaniſh troops, which the Duke of Alva, as ſoon as his purpoſes in the Low Countries were accompliſhed, would not fail to employ againſt the neighbouring powers. BOOK VIII. 1568.

aid from the German Princes.

PROMPTED by theſe motives, and by zeal for their religion, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and ſeveral other Princes, reſolved to ſupport William in his intended armament; and accordingly they furniſhed him with conſiderable ſupplies of money, promiſed him more, and aſſiſted him in levying troops within their reſpective territories.

Count Lewis

WHILST the Prince was employed in making levies in Cleves, Juliers, and other countries adjoining to Brabant and Guelderland, his brother, Count Lewis, was no leſs active in raiſing forces in the more northern parts of Germany, and in gathering together the Flemiſh exiles.

arrives with an army in

COUNT Lewis was much ſooner ready to take

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take the field than his brother, and he began his march in the end of April or beginning of May. He reſolved firſt to make an attempt on Groningen; and for this purpoſe he pitched his camp in ſuch a ſituation, that whilſt he cut off that city from all correſpondence with the neighbouring country, he kept a communication open with his friends in Germany.

gains a victory over the Spaniards.

THE Duke of Alva ſent Count Aremberg, an officer of conſiderable reputation, to oppoſe him; and ordered Count Megen, Governor of Guelderland and Zutphen, to march as ſoon as poſſible to Count Aremberg's aſſiſtance, with a regiment of German infantry that was under his command. Upon Aremberg's approach, Lewis drew off his army to a ſtill more advantageous ſituation; and encamped on a riſing ground, with a large moraſs in front.

THE Spaniards gave at this time a ſtriking proof of that ferocity and inſolence which they afterwards diſcovered on numberleſs occaſions, during the courſe of the preſent war. Having conceived the moſt contemptible opinion of the enemy, they were fired with impatience to engage, and as ſoon as they came in ſight demanded the ſignal of battle. Aremberg endeavoured to reſtrain their ardour, by repreſenting

ſenting that the enemy were ſo ſtrongly poſted, and ſo much ſuperior in number, that it would be impoſſible to attack them with ſucceſs till Count Megen ſhould arrive. But the Spaniards were not diſpoſed either to regard his opinion, or to reſpect his authority. They reproached him with infidelity to the King, and accuſed him of cowardice and ignorance of the art of war. Aremberg had not ſufficient ſtrength of mind to deſpiſe their reproaches. Inflamed with indignation at their unworthy treatment of him, "Let us march," ſaid he, "not to conquer, but to be overcome; and not by the arms of the enemy, but by the nature of the place. We ſhall be buried in the mud and water before we can reach the enemy; but it will ſoon appear, whether I am wanting either in courage or in fidelity to the King." Saying this, he gave orders to advance. The Spaniards were in the front, the Germans in the rear, and the cavalry were diſtributed in different places as the ground would permit. Lewis rejoiced when he ſaw them approaching towards him. He had placed his cavalry, under the command of his brother Count Adolphus of Naſſau, on the right. On the left, his main army was covered by a hill, on which he had planted a ſtrong band of muſketeers. Behind him there was a little wood and the walls of a convent; and in his front, the moraſs above mentioned, which was almoſt impaſ-

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impaſſable. Yet the Spaniards entered it without heſitation, and continued to advance till they were within reach of the enemy's fire. They came to be ſenſible of their folly when it was too late. Thoſe who had firſt entered were prevented from returning by thoſe who followed, and the farther they advanced, they were the more expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, and the more entangled in the mud. When they were in this ſituation, Lewis attacked them vigorouſly in front, while his brother broke in upon their flank with the cavalry. They were cut to pieces almoſt without reſiſtance. Six hundred Spaniards were killed. The Germans ſurrendered at diſcretion, and were diſmiſſed, after taking an oath that they would never more carry arms for the Duke of Alva. Count Aremberg, finding no room to act as general, was obliged to content himſelf with performing the duty of a common ſoldier; and he and Count Adolphus ruſhing furiouſly againſt one another, fell each of them by the other's ſword. The Spaniards loſt their artillery, baggage, and military cheſt. The battle was ſcarcely ended, when Count Megen arrived with ſo ſtrong a body of troops as would have been ſufficient, if they had advanced in time, to have changed the fortune of the day. But they were not able alone to face the enemy. And therefore Megen found it neceſſary to take ſhelter in Groningen, where he col-

lected

lected the ſcattered remains of the conquered army[t]. BOOK VIII.

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THE news of this defeat affected the Duke of Alva in the moſt ſenſible manner. He knew of how much conſequence it was to any cauſe that the firſt enterprize ſhould be attended with ſucceſs. He conſidered that Lewis had but juſt entered the Low Countries when he had gained a ſignal victory, and that the Prince of Orange was ready to begin his march with a ſtill more formidable army than that of Lewis. The neighbouring powers, he doubted not, would be animated by what had happened, to grant the Prince thoſe ſupplies which they had promiſed him; and the Flemings would be leſs afraid to declare in his favour. On theſe accounts he would have marched immediately into Frieſland with his whole army, in order to cut off or ſcatter the troops under Lewis before his brother ſhould arrive. But he thought it neceſſary before he ſet out, to diſpatch the trial of the Counts Egmont and Horn, and ſome other lords, whom at his firſt coming into the Netherlands he had thrown into priſon. Some of his friends endeavoured to divert him from his purpoſe, by repreſenting that the priſoners were ſo many pledges in his hands for the peaceable behaviour of their adherents; and

Alva's inquietude on this occaſion.

The trial of the Counts Egmont and Horn.

[t] Bentivoglio, p. 67, &c.

that

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that putting them to death would only ſerve to embitter the reſentment of the people, and make them receive the Prince of Orange with open arms. He ſtill, however, perſiſted in his reſolution, prompted, if we may believe ſome hiſtorians, by the apprehenſion that, during his abſence, the people might take up arms, and releaſe the priſoners. But, if we may credit others, he was influenced rather by revenge than prudence, and could no longer reſtrain his fury, which was inflamed at this time by the loſs which his army had ſuſtained in the late engagement.

In one day he ordered eighteen perſons of rank, whom the Council of Tumults had pronounced guilty of ſubſcribing the compromiſe, or of preſenting remonſtrances to the Ducheſs of Parma, to be put to death. Such of them as died Catholics were beheaded, and the reſt were committed to the flames. Caſembrot, the Lord of Beckerzel, Count Egmont's ſecretary, who had been condemned for ſigning the compromiſe, was tortured in the moſt barbarous manner, to make him accuſe his friend and maſter; and when it appeared that his exhauſted body was ready to ſink under the torments which he ſuffered, Alva, enraged that nothing had been extorted from him which could juſtify the condemnation of the Count, gave orders that he ſhould be drawn

aſunder by horſes[u]. Hiſtory ſcarcely furniſhes an inſtance of ſo cruel a puniſhment inflicted for ſo ſlight an offence. BOOK VIII. 1568.

SUCH was the prelude to the trial of the Counts Horn and Egmont, which followed immediately after what has been juſt now related.

ALTHOUGH the conduct both of Philip and the Duke of Alva, in the Netherlands, and particularly their treatment of theſe two noblemen, had been an open violation of the laws, yet it was thought neceſſary to employ the farce of a formal trial before the ſentence of condemnation was pronounced. This was intended to leſſen the odium which might ariſe from putting to death two ſuch illuſtrious perſons, who were ſo exceedingly beloved by the people, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo highly in the ſervice of the King. But it was accompanied with the contrary effect. It afforded the two Counts an opportunity of placing their innocence in the cleareſt light, and furniſhed the world with the moſt convincing evidence of Philip's lawleſs tyranny and oppreſſion.

THE general charge againſt them was, that in conjunction with the Prince of Orange, they had formed a plan to aboliſh the King's authority in the Netherlands; and the proofs of this The charge againſt them.

[u] Grimeſtone and Bentivoglio.

charge

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charge were, firſt, That by their contumelious treatment of Cardinal Granvelle, they had obliged the King, contrary to his inclination, to remove that prelate from the Low Countries.

2. THAT they were privy to the confederacy which had been formed to oppoſe the introduction of the Inquiſition and edicts; and although Count Egmont knew that the Lord of Beckerzel had ſubſcribed the compromiſe, he had ſtill retained him in his ſervice.

3. THAT they had met at Dendremonde, with the Prince of Orange, Count Lewis of Naſſau, and ſeveral others, to deliberate about oppoſing the entrance of the King's army into the Netherlands. And,

4. THAT, inſtead of puniſhing heretics with due ſeverity, they had in ſome places granted them liberty openly to celebrate their religious aſſemblies.

Their defences.

IN anſwer to theſe accuſations, the two Lords, after proteſting that, as Knights of the Golden Fleece, they could not be tried by any other judges but the Knights of their Order, began with declaring, that they had never entertained a thought to the prejudice of the King's authority; and that when they urged the King to remove Cardinal Granvelle from the Netherlands,

lands, they believed, and were ſtill perſuaded, that his removal was equally calculated to promote the intereſt of the King and of the provinces. Although they knew of the confederacy, they had neither any concern in it, nor power ſufficient to prevent it; and Count Egmont had continued to employ the Lord of Bickerzel, after knowing that he had ſigned the compromiſe, from a conviction that he was ſtill unſhaken in his fidelity to the church and to the King; of which that nobleman gave afterwards the ſtrongeſt proof, by exerting himſelf, with great activity, in detecting and puniſhing the violaters of the churches. They had indeed been preſent at a conference in Dendremonde, where Count Lewis of Naſſau had propoſed that they ſhould unite their endeavours to prevent the entrance of the Spaniſh troops; but inſtead of aſſenting to that propoſal, they had diſapproved and oppoſed it. They had done every thing in their power for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy; they had made diligent ſearch for the rioters, and puniſhed many of them with great ſeverity; and although they had in ſome places granted the Proteſtants liberty to hold their religious aſſemblies, yet they had done ſo becauſe they could not otherwiſe have prevented the demolition of the churches, beſides many other miſchievous effects, which there was the ſtrongeſt reaſon

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to apprehend from the enthuſiaſtic rage of the reformers. At the worſt, they had been guilty only of an error in judgment. They had lived, and would die, in the belief and practice of the Catholic religion. And as they had not been wanting in their duty to the church; ſo they had lately given inconteſtible evidence of their devotion to the King, by taking cheerfully, at the Ducheſs of Parma's deſire, an oath to obey the King in every thing; and to regard, as enemies to the ſtate, all thoſe whom he ſhould be pleaſed to condemn.

Interceſſions in their behalf.

WHILE the priſoners offered theſe ſatisfactory defences of their conduct, the moſt earneſt ſolicitations were employed in their behalf.

THE Emperor Maximilian, agreeably to the humanity of his character, interceded with Philip in their favour, and flattered himſelf ſo ſtrongly with the hopes of ſucceſs, that, a few days before their execution, he ſent to inform the Counteſs of Egmont, that her fears for her huſband's life would, he now believed, be happily diſappointed.

THE Ducheſs of Parma too, who had never ſuſpected that the complaints which ſhe had made againſt the priſoners during her regency, would have been attended with ſuch ſerious

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conſequences, tranſmitted to the King, and ſeconded, a petition from the Counteſs of Egmont; in which, after repreſenting that her huſband had diſtinguiſhed himſelf above his equals, firſt in the ſervice of the late Emperor, and ſince in that of the King; and that he had often borne a principal ſhare in their wars and victories both in Europe and Africa; ſhe concluded with intreating, that if, notwithſtanding her huſband's defence of his conduct, he ſhould ſtill be found obnoxious to juſtice; yet on account of his former ſervices, the King would remember him with mercy, and take into conſideration the deplorable ſituation to which ſhe, and her eleven helpleſs children, would be reduced by the ignominious death of her huſband.

1568. Letter of the Counteſs of Egmont.

But Philip, curſed with the moſt unfeeling heart, remained relentleſs and inflexible; and, conformably to his orders, Alva pronounced ſentence of death both againſt Count Egmont and Count Horn, in the beginning of June one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, after they had ſuffered near nine months' impriſonment. The ſentence was intimated to them in the middle of the night, when they were in bed, by the Biſhop of Ipres. They received the intelligence with becoming fortitude and reſignation. "I am not conſcious," ſaid Count Egmont, "of having deſerved ſuch hard uſage from the King, whoſe glory and

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intereſt I have ſincerely ſtudied to promote. But I will ſubmit to my fate with patience; although my heart bleeds when I think on my wife and children."

Letter of Count Egmont to Philip.

A FEW hours before his death he wrote to the King, "That although it had pleaſed him to order ſentence of death to be pronounced againſt him as a traitor, and an abettor of heretics; yet in juſtice to himſelf he muſt declare, that he had never failed, in word or in deed, in his duty either to *him* or to the church. I cannot therefore doubt (continued he) that when you ſhall receive true information of what has paſſed in the Low Countries, you will be ſenſible how unjuſtly I have been uſed; having been condemned for doing what I never did or intended; and for the truth of this, I call Almighty God to witneſs, before whom I ſhall ſoon appear. My laſt and only requeſt is, that on account of my former ſervices, and the integrity of my intentions, you will take compaſſion on my unhappy wife and children; in the hopes of which I will patiently ſubmit to the execution of the ſentence which has been paſſed againſt me [x]."

June 5th, 1568.

The execution.

BOTH priſoners had, a few days before, been brought from Ghent to Bruſſels. Count

[x] Strada, &c.

Egmont

Egmont was firſt conducted to the place of execution, with Julio Romero, Camp Marſhal, on one hand, and the Biſhop of Ipres on the other. The ſcaffold was covered with black cloth, and ſurrounded by a ſtrong guard, conſiſting of nineteen companies of ſoldiers. The Count went up to the ſcaffold accompanied only by the Biſhop of Ipres; with whom, having diſcourſed ſome time (on what ſubject we are not told), he kneeled down and prayed; then roſe again, and throwing off his robe, he wrapped his head and face in a handkerchief, and again kneeling down, with his hands joined, he in that poſture received the ſtroke of the executioner. BOOK VIII. 1568.

THE head and body, and the blood which flowed from them, were covered with a black cloth, to hide them from the view of Count Horn; who was ſoon after brought thither, accompanied by the ſame attendants. Having aſcended the ſcaffold, he enquired whether Count Egmont was already beheaded; and being told that he was, "We have not ſeen one another," ſaid he, "ſince the day when we were caſt into priſon. But from our fate, my friends," addreſſing himſelf to the ſpectators, "learn to know the meaſure of obedience, required by your ſuperiors. If I have ever offended any of you, I now aſk forgive-

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neſs, and beſeech you to aſſiſt me with your prayers." Then having diſrobed himſelf, he ſubmitted to his fate with perfect compoſure and tranquillity.

THE heads were ſet up oppoſite to each other, on two iron poles, faſtened to the ſides of the ſcaffold; where they remained till the afternoon, when they were taken down and delivered, together with the bodies, to the friends of the deceaſed [y].

THE unmerited death of theſe two great men excited univerſal grief and indignation. Nor could the ſpectators be deterred, by the numerous troops which ſurrounded them, from teſtifying their reſentment. Many of them, forgetting the danger to which they expoſed themſelves, ruſhed forward to the ſcaffold, dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood, and vowed, in the hearing of the Spaniards, that ere long the governor and his aſſociates ſhould have reaſon to repent of the cruel murder that had been committed [z].

Character of Count Egmont.

COUNT Egmont was forty-ſix years of age when he ſuffered. To the moſt ſplendid bodily accompliſhments, he joined great gentleneſs of manners, and the moſt engaging affability.

[y] Strada. [z] Bentivoglio.

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From his youth he had accompanied the late Emperor in his military expeditions, and had on all occaſions acquitted himſelf with the higheſt honour, while at the ſame time he rendered himſelf univerſally beloved. Of the two victories which Philip's armies gained over the French at St. Quintin and Gravelines, it is allowed that the one was owing in a great meaſure, and the other entirely, to Count Egmont. As all men were acquainted with the advantages which Philip derived from theſe victories, they were ſhocked at the ungrateful return which he now made to the perſon by whoſe valour and conduct they had been obtained [a].

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AFTER this diſmal cataſtrophe, Alva having nothing to prevent him from turning his whole attention to the war with Count Lewis of Naſſau, ordered bridges to be thrown over the Maeſe, the Rhine, and the Iſſel, and marched directly to the enemy. He reached Daventer, where he had given orders for ſeveral bodies of troops to meet him about the middle of July; and in a few days after, he arrived with

Alva marches againſt Count Lewis.

[a] At the ſame time that what is above related was tranſacted at Bruſſels, orders were given at Madrid for putting to death the Baron of Montigny, brother to Count Horn, who had been ſent by the Ducheſs of Parma along with the Marquis Mons (who died ſome months before), to preſent the petition of the confederates. Bentivoglio.

BOOK VIII. 1568. his whole army, conſiſting of twelve thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, in ſight of the enemy's camp.

THE army of Count Lewis being much inferior both in diſcipline and number, that General quickly perceived the neceſſity of quitting his preſent ſituation. He retired, however, in good order, and with very little loſs, till he arrived at the town of Gemmingen, where he pitched his camp in a place that appeared almoſt impregnable. Behind him lay the village of Gemmingen; on his left, the river Ems, by which he could be ſupplied with proviſions from Embden, and other places; and on his right, a plain which he fortified with trenches and redoubts; but that which formed the chief ſtrength of his ſituation was, that the enemy could not approach him but by marching in defile along the dyke of the river. This dyke was ten miles in length, with the river on the one ſide, and a moraſs on the other. Having planted a battery of cannon upon it, Lewis intended to open the dyke, and lay the moraſs under water. And in this encampment, he hoped it would not be difficult for him to keep the enemy at bay, till his brother ſhould begin his operations; when he did not doubt that the Duke of Alva would find it neceſſary to retire.

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Alva was aware of Lewis's intention, and of the danger with which any conſiderable delay muſt be attended. With the utmoſt expedition he brought forward his beſt veteran troops, and arrived at the very time when the Flemings were beginning to break down the dyke. Count Lewis and the other nobility were themſelves employed at the work. When the enemy appeared, they betook themſelves haſtily to arms, but they were ſoon obliged to yield to the ſuperior force of the Spaniards, and to retire behind the battery above mentioned. Here Lewis expected to maintain his ground by the help of his artillery; but the Germans in his army, to the number of ſeven thouſand, having been diſappointed of their pay for ſome weeks, and believing that Lewis had money in his poſſeſſion which he had delayed giving them from his dread of their deſertion, reſolved to embrace the preſent opportunity to extort from him a compliance with their demands. They roſe tumultuouſly, and threatened that they would not fight unleſs he immediately paid their arrears. Intelligence of this ſedition was carried by ſpies or deſerters to the Duke of Alva, who perceived that now was the time to make an attempt upon the battery. He ordered a part of his army to enter the moraſs; through which, as it was the Summer ſeaſon, and Lewis had been diſappointed

and defeats him,

through a mutiny of the Germans.

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pointed in his deſign of laying the ground under water, the Spaniards found their way eaſier than they expected. They arrived in time to attack the enemy in flank, whilſt the reſt of the army, without ſhrinking, marched up to the battery in front, and made a furious aſſault upon it ſword in hand. The Flemiſh exiles, with Count Lewis at their head, defended themſelves for ſome time with great bravery; but, being deſerted by the Germans, they were at length compelled to retreat. The Spaniards entered the camp along with them. The Germans, overwhelmed with terror, made little reſiſtance; and, as a juſt puniſhment of their ſedition at ſo critical a period, great numbers of them were put to the ſword. Almoſt as many were ſwallowed up in attempting to ſwim acroſs the river, as fell by the hands of the enemy. On the ſide of the Spaniards, only eighty men were killed; but of the Germans and the Flemiſh exiles, between ſix and ſeven thouſand periſhed, including thoſe who were drowned. Count Lewis, after having attempted in vain to rally his ſcattered troops, eſcaped in a ſmall boat to the oppoſite ſide of the river; and ſoon afterwards ſet out with the Earl of Hoogſtraten for Germany, to join the Prince of Orange [b].

[b] Strada, Bentivoglio, and Grimeſtone's General Hiſtory of the Netherlands.

THE

THE Duke of Alva went from the field of battle to the city of Groningen, and from thence to Utrecht and Amſterdam; carrying on inquiries in theſe places againſt the Proteſtants, and puniſhing with rigour all who were ſuſpected to have been concerned in the late diſorders. He would gladly have ſpent more time in this employment, ſo agreeable to the native cruelty of his diſpoſition; but he was informed that the Prince of Orange had begun to put his troops in motion, and was upon his march from Treves to the province of Guelderland, or Brabant.

BEFORE William left Germany, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he explained the motives which induced him to have recourſe to arms. "There was no other expedient left," he ſaid, "by which he could ſave his countrymen from ſlavery and ruin; and to attempt this, he thought, was the indiſpenſable duty of every citizen; eſpecially of one who, like him, had enjoyed the higheſt dignities of the ſtate. The King, he hoped, would ere long be delivered from thoſe Spaniſh counſellors by whom he had been led aſtray; but, in the mean time, he did not think it incumbent upon any inhabitant of the Low Countries to yield obedience to the King in contradiction to the laws. For Philip did not hold the ſame unlimited authority

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thority in the Netherlands, as in his other dominions. His right to obedience ſubſiſted only whilſt he maintained the rights of the people; and, by the conſtitutions of the provinces, it was expreſsly provided, that if the ſovereign ſhould attempt to violate any of the fundamental laws, the people ſhould in that caſe be abſolved from their allegiance."

In this manifeſto the Prince thought proper to make it known, that he had changed his ſentiments in religion; and was now convinced, that the opinions of the Proteſtants were more conformable than thoſe of the Romiſh church, to the great rule of Chriſtian faith, the Sacred Writings.

The Prince's army.

William's army, including horſe and foot, did not exceed twenty thouſand; and the Duke of Alva's, after being joined by a reinforcement which he received at this time from Spain, was equal in number, and much better furniſhed with military ſtores and proviſions. The Prince was ſenſible of the great diſadvantage under which he laboured in this reſpect; but from the preſſing invitations which he received from many of the principal inhabitants in the Netherlands, and from the repeated repreſentations which were made to him of the univerſal hatred with which the people were animated againſt the Governor,

he

he hoped that, as ſoon as his army ſhould appear, there would be an inſurrection in his favour, or that ſome of the principal cities would open their gates to receive him. BOOK VIII. 1568.

HE paſſed the Rhine without oppoſition in the end of Auguſt, a little above Cologn; and then turning to the left, he advanced towards Aix-la-Chapelle. About this time the Duke of Alva arrived at Maeſtricht. The Prince directed his march firſt towards Liege; but being diſappointed in the hopes which he had conceived, of that city declaring in his favour, he turned his courſe northwards, with an intention to paſs the Maeſe wherever he ſhould find it fordable. Alva's whole attention was employed to prevent him from putting his deſign in execution, and with this view he planted ſtrong guards along the banks of the river, and kept his army as nearly oppoſite as poſſible to the enemy. Alva in vain oppoſes his paſſage over the Maeſe.

AT laſt, however, after ſeveral marches and countermarches, William effected his paſſage in the night, oppoſite to a town called Stochem, where the Duke believed it to have been impracticable. But the ſeaſon had been remarkably dry; and the Prince on this occaſion imitated the conduct of Julius Cæſar in his paſſage of the Ligeris, by placing his cavalry

BOOK VIII. cavalry a little above the ford, to break the force of the ſtream.

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WHEN Alva was informed next morning of what had happened, he could not at firſt believe it, and ſcornfully aſked the officer who brought the intelligence, Whether he imagined that the enemy had wings?

THE Prince of Orange endeavoured to perſuade his troops, as ſoon as they had croſſed the river, to march directly againſt the Spaniards; who, if this requeſt had been complied with, might have been attacked with great advantage; but the Germans, who unfortunately for themſelves, as well as for the cauſe in which they were engaged, never yielded due obedience to their commander, refuſed to advance till they ſhould have a night's refreſhment; and thereby loſt the only opportunity which the Duke of Alva ever gave them, of compelling him to fight.

Alva declines fighting.

ON the next day, when they were led forward to the Spaniſh camp to offer battle, they found it ſo ſtrongly fortified with intrenchments and redoubts, that no attempt could be made upon it with the ſmalleſt probability of ſucceſs. Chiappino Vitelli, an officer of high reputation, was of opinion, that the

Duke ought not to have declined an engagement, as the enemy were fatigued with their paſſage of the river, and had not yet made choice of a proper place for their camp, to which they could retire after battle; beſides, that it was of the higheſt conſequence, he imagined, to give an early check to their preſumption, in order to prevent the fortified towns from declaring in their favour. 1568.

His motives.

But Alva had already formed his plan, to which he was unalterably determined to adhere. He conſidered that he had a great deal more at ſtake than the Prince of Orange; and that a defeat would be attended not only with the loſs of his army, but the greateſt part of the provinces. He was acquainted too with the narrowneſs of William's finances, and knew that he muſt encounter the moſt unſurmountable difficulties in ſupporting ſo numerous an army for any conſiderable time; eſpecially as the Winter ſeaſon was faſt approaching, when, unleſs he ſhould get poſſeſſion of ſome of the great towns, it would be impoſſible for him to remain in the Netherlands.

His prudent conduct.

With this view, as he ſuſpected that the Prince intended to lead his army into Brabant, he ſtrengthened the garriſons of Tillemont, Louvain, and Bruſſels; and when

William

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William directed his march towards Tongres, the Duke drew his troops ſo near that town, as made it impoſſible for the enemy to approach. Whichever way the Prince of Orange turned his courſe, the Duke of Alva accompanied him; marching ſometimes behind, and ſometimes on his flank; always ſtraitening his quarters, and rendering it difficult for him to furniſh his army with forage and proviſions; while he intrenched his own forces with ſo much ſkill, that the Prince fought in vain for an opportunity of bringing on an engagement.

Skirmiſhes.

In this ſituation frequent ſkirmiſhes between the two armies were unavoidable, and in theſe the advantage fell ſometimes on the one ſide, and ſometimes on the other; but each commander made ſuch judicious movements, choſe his ground with ſo much ſkill, and exerted ſuch an equal degree of vigilance and attention, as effectually prevented his antagoniſt from obtaining any conſiderable advantage over him.

The only ſucceſs which the Duke of Alva could boaſt of, was at the river Geete; where, having attacked the rear-guard of the enemy's army, he killed ſome, and put the reſt to flight.

The

THE Prince of Orange had the ſame ground of triumph in an action at Queſnoy; where, having come up with a detachment, conſiſting of ten companies of German Catholics, eight of Spaniards, and three troops of light-armed infantry, he put them to route, and took ample vengeance for the loſs he ſuſtained at Geete[b]. 1568.

HE was on his march at that time to meet the Sieur de Genlis, who had been ſent to him by the Prince of Condé, with a reinforcement of troops; which fully compenſated all his loſſes in Brabant.

The Prince is obliged to diſband his army.

BUT the cauſes already mentioned began to operate. The Prince had been cruelly diſappointed of the greateſt part of the money which had been promiſed him. The dread which the Flemings entertained of the Spaniſh forces, and the prudent precautions which had been taken by the Duke of Alva, had prevented William's friends from making any effort in his behalf. His army had been often pinched for proviſions. They now deſpaired of getting poſſeſſion of any of the great towns, and they trembled at the thoughts of paſſing the winter in the open fields. The Germans

[b] Thuanus.

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began to desert in great numbers, and [illegible] often, before this time, shewn themselves refractory and disobedient. For these reasons, the Prince found it necessary to disband them; after having given them all the satisfaction in his power, by paying a part of their arrears, and giving security to their leaders for the rest on his lordship of Montfort and the principality of Orange[c].

AFTER these disasters, the Prince, accompanied by his brother Count Lewis, went to France, and conducted thither between a thousand and twelve hundred horse, to the assistance of the Calvinists.

SUCH was the conclusion of the first attempt which the Prince of Orange and his brother made to deliver the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke. It must occur to every reader, that if they had begun their operations and entered the provinces at the same time, the issue of their enterprise would probably have been extremely different. The Duke of Alva would, in that case, have been obliged to divide his forces, and have probably been overpowered by numbers. But unfortunately Count Lewis, who was more expeditious in

[c] Thuanus Meursius, Albanus, p. 19. Meteren, p. 79.

making

making his levies than the Prince of Orange, did not poſſeſs a fund ſufficient to maintain them without employment, and was obliged to enter upon action before his brother was prepared to ſupport him. And to the ſame cauſe may be aſcribed both the Prince's delay in putting his troops in motion, and the neceſſity to which he was reduced of breaking up his camp.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK IX.

PART I.

WHILE Philip's bigotry, joined to his deſpotic and arbitrary conduct, had engaged him in war with his ſubjects in the Netherlands, the ſame cauſes produced a ſimilar effect in the province of Granada; where the Moors, who had long yielded a tame ſubmiſſion to the crown of Spain, were provoked, by the tyranny of the preſent government, to throw off their allegiance, and have recourſe to arms. This people, who, during ſeveral centuries, had maintained poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Spain, were at laſt totally ſubdued by Ferdinand the Catholic, in

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The war in Granada.

Hiſtory of the Moreſcoes.

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the year one thouſand four hundred and ninety-two. But although their government was aboliſhed at that time, the people themſelves remained; and were permitted to enjoy not only their poſſeſſions, dreſs, and cuſtoms, but even their religion, as in the time of their native Kings. And the politic Ferdinand ſcrupled not to ſwear ſolemnly, to obſerve this condition, in hopes of being able afterwards to deviſe ſome efficacious means of reconciling them to the Chriſtian faith.

BEING diſappointed in his expectation, and finding, after a trial of ſeveral years, that the inſtructions of his prieſts were not likely to prove effectual; he reſolved, without regard to the oath which he had ſworn, to employ force in order to accompliſh his deſign. He pretended, that the citizens of Granada had forfeited their title to his fulfilling the terms of peace, by an inſurrection, into which ſome of them had been betrayed through the violent adminiſtration of Cardinal Ximenes; and, on this pretence, he ordered ſentence of death to be pronounced againſt them, and declared, that unleſs they would renounce their religion, it ſhould be inſtantly carried into execution. By this expedient he compelled fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of the city of Granada, moſt of whom had no concern in the inſurrection,

insurrection, to profess themselves converts to Christianity. The inhabitants of the country, and of the smaller towns, being highly exasperated by the violent treatment of their countrymen, and dreading that they themselves would quickly experience the same injustice, began to prepare for resistance. But before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence, Ferdinand, who was no less provident and active, than false and faithless, came upon them with a numerous army, and after taking one of their towns, of which he put all the inhabitants to the sword, he soon obliged the rest to lay down their arms. Upon their paying him a sum of money, he permitted a certain number to transport themselves to Africa. But the greater part were compelled to remain in the kingdom, and to submit to be baptized. They were still however strongly attached to the Mahometan superstition; and although they generally conformed to the rites of the Romish church, they could not, on every occasion, conceal their attachment. The inquisitors were perpetually prying into their conduct; great numbers of them were condemned and burnt as heretics; and many thousands, dreading the like fate, fled over to Barbary.

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Representations were often transmitted to court of the desolation that was thus produced;

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but theſe repreſentations either did not reach the ear of Ferdinand, or they were diſregarded. No remedy was ever applied, and the inquiſitors continued to exerciſe without controul their wonted cruelty and oppreſſion.

DURING the latter part of the reign of Ferdinand, and the whole of that of Charles, the Moors are ſeldom mentioned by the Spaniſh hiſtorians; nor do theſe writers give us any other information concerning them for half a century, than that they ſtill retained their ancient averſion to the Chriſtian faith. But the Eccleſiaſtics, ſoon after Philip's arrival in Spain, taking encouragement from that bigoted zeal with which they knew their Prince to be ſo ſtrongly actuated, revived their old complaints againſt that unhappy people, and made repeated repreſentations of their obſtinate and incurable infidelity.

"THEY are Chriſtians," ſaid Guerrero, Archbiſhop of Granada, "in name only, but Mahometans in their hearts. They come to hear maſs on feſtival days, only in order to avoid the penalties which they would otherwiſe incur. They work on theſe days with their doors ſhut, and feaſt and carouſe on Fridays. They preſent their children to be baptized; but no ſooner do they reach their own houſes, than they

they waſh them with warm water, circumciſe them, and give them Mooriſh names. They conſent to be married in the churches, becauſe the law requires it; but when they return home, they clothe themſelves in a Mooriſh dreſs, and celebrate their nuptials with dances, ſongs, and other ſpecies of muſic which are in uſe only among the Moors."

1568.

THIS repreſentation was well calculated to make impreſſion on the ſuperſtitious ſpirit of the King. But the Archbiſhop knew that political conſiderations were likely to have as much weight with him as thoſe of a religious nature; and therefore he ſubjoined, "That the Moreſcoes held a treaſonable correſpondence with the Turks and Corſairs, and were in the practice of carrying off the children of Chriſtians, and either ſelling them for ſlaves, or ſending them to Barbary, where they were brought up in the religion of Mahomet." Whether there was any truth in the latter part of this accuſation, does not appear with convincing evidence; but, conſidering the near affinity between the Moreſcoes and the African Moors, in reſpect of religion, manners, language, and deſcent, together with the alienation from the Spaniſh government, which the cruelties exerciſed againſt them by the Inquiſition, and their exclusion from all offices

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offices of truſt, muſt have carried to the greateſt height, it is not ſurpriſing that Philip's apprehenſions were alarmed, and that he thought it neceſſary to make proviſion againſt the danger which ſeemed to threaten him.

Philip diſarms them.

His firſt ſtep was to ſtrip the Moreſcoes of their arms; and for this purpoſe he ſent, on different pretences, ſeveral regiments of Caſtilians to quarter among them, by whom a great quantity of arms of all kinds were ſeized; but as their ſuſpicions were perpetually awake, they had penetrated his deſign, and concealed a conſiderable quantity[a].

This diſcovery of Philip's diſpoſition towards them ſerved to alienate their affections more than ever from his government, and at the ſame time encouraged the inquiſitors to multiply their complaints, and to urge at court the neceſſity of employing more efficacious meaſures than had hitherto been adopted. The King himſelf was far from being averſe to comply with the violent counſels that were given him; and when upon conſulting a theologian of the name of Oraduy, that Eccleſiaſtic, in the true ſpirit of a Spaniſh inquiſitor, quoted to him the proverb, that "of enemies, the

[a] Ferreras, ann. 1562.

fewer

fewer the better." Philip was highly pleaſed with his reply. BOOK IX.

1568.

HAVING therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to extirpate from his dominions the private as well as the public exerciſe of Mahometaniſm, and to waſh it out with the blood of its votaries, rather than ſuffer it to remain, he appointed a ſelect number of Eccleſiaſtics to conſider of the proper means by which his deſign might be accompliſhed; and agreeably to the advice of theſe men, he ſoon afterwards publiſhed an edict which contained the following prohibitions, and denounced death in caſe of diſobedience: "That henceforth the Moreſcoes ſhall lay aſide their native language, dreſs, and peculiar cuſtoms, and in future adopt thoſe of the inhabitants of Caſtile. That they ſhall no longer take Mooriſh names or ſurnames, but ſuch as are generally uſed in Spain. That they ſhall bear none of thoſe ſymbols about them by which the diſciples of Mahomet are diſtinguiſhed. That they ſhall diſcontinue the uſe of their baths, which ſhall be immediately deſtroyed. That their women ſhall not, as hitherto, appear in veils; that no perſon ſhall marry without a diſpenſation from the ordinary; that none ſhall remove from one place to another without permiſſion; and that

His edict againſt them.

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that they ſhall on no occaſion wear arms, keep them in their poſſeſſion."

THE exerciſe of the Mahometan religion having been prohibited under the ſevereſt penalties by former princes, no mention was made of it in the edict; but the Moreſcoes readily perceived the deſign and tendency of the preſent regulation, and conſidered, that as they muſt render the ſecret practice of their religion infinitely more difficult than formerly, they muſt infallibly prove ere long the cauſe of its extirpation. Even although they had not been apprehenſive of any ſuch ſerious conſequence, it could not be expected they would tamely ſubmit to thoſe affronting rules which were now preſcribed them. Men are often more powerfully attached to the external forms and modes of life, than to things that are the moſt eſſential to their happineſs. With this attachment the zeal of the Moreſcoes for their religion coincided. Their reſentment, on account of the innumerable cruelties which had been ſo long exerciſed againſt them by the Inquiſition, added force to theſe incentives, and prompted them to reſolve to expoſe themſelves to the laſt extremities, rather than yield obedience to the edict that was now promulgated. But as they were conſcious of their weakneſs, and could not depend upon receiving

receiving assistance from any foreign power, they agreed, before they should take up arms, to make trial, whether they could, by solicitation and intreaty, persuade the King to revoke his edict. BOOK IX. 1568.

"THEIR dress," they represented, "had surely no relation to any religion, whether the Mahometan or the Christian, since the Mahometans in Morocco, Fez, Tunis, and Turkey, dressed very differently from one another; while the dress of the Christians in Turkey was the same as that of the Turks: and to require them all to purchase Castilian habits, would subject great numbers of them to an expence which they were unable to defray. It was from modesty alone their women wore veils; a practice which obtained in many places of Castile, as well as in Granada. Their music and dances were used on days of festivity, only as amusements; they had not the most remote connection with religion, and they had been regarded as innocent by prelates the most distinguished for their sanctity and zeal. Their remonstrance.

"THEIR baths were used for the purpose of cleanliness only; those of the men were separate from those of the women; and it was not in the power of those Christians, to whom the care of them was committed, to allege, that either

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either the former or the latter had been [illegible] applied to any uſe repugnant either to decency or the Catholic religion. And with regard to their language, as it was difficult to conceive how the Arabic could contain any thing contrary to Chriſtianity, ſo it was utterly impoſſible for them at once to lay aſide the uſe of it, ſince great numbers among them were too far advanced in life to be able to learn a new language; and in ſeveral parts of the country there was no other tongue ſpoken but the Arabic, nor any means eſtabliſhed by which the Caſtilian could be acquired." They concluded with profeſſions of loyalty to the King, and with reminding him, that in his foreign wars they had given him many proofs of their attachment and fidelity.

THE Moreſcoes had not acceſs, it ſhould ſeem, to deliver this remonſtrance to Philip himſelf; but it was preſented to him by Deza the Chancellor of Granada, who was ſeconded by Don John Henriquez, Don Antonio de Toledo, the Prior of Leon, and the Marquis of Mondejar, Captain-general of the province. This laſt-mentioned nobleman ſpared no pains to divert Philip from his purpoſe, by repreſenting, that from his knowledge of the Moreſcoes he was convinced that an open rebellion would be the conſequence of carrying the edict into execution. But the King having

formed his reſolution after mature delibera- BOOK
tion, and by the advice of ſuch counſellors as IX.
he moſt eſteemed, lent a deaf ear to all the 1568.
repreſentations that were made to him, and gave orders to Mondejar immediately to ſet out for Granada, in order to make preparations for employing force in caſe he ſhould find it neceſſary.

THE Moreſcoes were no ſooner informed of the ill ſucceſs of their petition, than they began to meditate a revolt; and the leading men among them having met privately in Cadair, a town ſituated in the entrance of the mountains of Alpuxara, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to Fez, Algiers, and Conſtantinople, to ſolicit aſſiſtance; and at the ſame time ſpread their emiſſaries over the province, in order to prepare the minds of the inhabitants.

THE people almoſt every where, except in Their inſurrection.
thoſe places where they were overawed by the Spaniſh garriſon, obeyed with alacrity the invitation which they received to aſſert their liberty; and in a little time the whole region of Alpuxara, which contains a ſpace of ſeventeen leagues in length and ten in breadth, comprehending many villages and many thouſand inhabitants, was up in arms. A reinforcement of ſeveral hundred Turks, beſides a quantity

of

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of military ſtores, arrived from Africa, and the Moreſcoes flattered themſeves with the hopes that much more powerful aſſiſtance would ere long be ſent them by the Sultan.

They elect a King.

THEIR leaders in the mean time held another aſſembly, in which they elected for their King Don Ferdinand de Valor, a young man of four or five and twenty, deſcended from their ancient princes, and in ſome meaſure qualified, by his intrepid courage and activity, for the dangerous pre-eminence to which he was now exalted. Having aſſumed the name of Aben-Humeya, which had been that of his progenitors, he was inveſted with the enſigns of royalty, with all the forms and ceremonies which were anciently practiſed at the election of the Mooriſh kings. He then entered upon the exerciſe of his new authority, appointed his miniſters and officers, and ſent orders to all the chiefs who were not preſent in the aſſembly, to hold themſelves ready to act on the ſhorteſt notice.

Their attempt on Granada.

HIS firſt and principal object was to get poſſeſſion of the city of Granada, in which he doubted not of being able to defend himſelf till the Turkiſh ſuccours ſhould arrive. Nor was it without ſome reaſon that he entertained hopes of ſucceeding in an attempt on this important city. His party had hitherto concealed their

their machinations with the moſt profound and faithful ſecrecy. Their ſeveral meetings had been held on pretences which deceived the penetration of the Spaniards, and their military preparations had been carried on chiefly among the mountains of Alpuxara. The Marquis of Mondejar, indeed, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, had conceived a ſuſpicion of their deſigns, and had repreſented to Philip the neceſſity of ſending him a much more powerful army than was at preſent under his command. But there ſubſiſted at this time a violent jealouſy between that nobleman and Deza the Chancellor, which aroſe from a competition concerning the rights of their reſpective offices. Deza, prompted by his animoſity againſt the Marquis, endeavoured to diſcredit his account of the hoſtile intentions of the Moors, and to perſuade the King that there was in reality no danger of a revolt, and that the edict lately publiſhed might be ſufficiently enforced by a vigorous exerciſe of the civil power alone; but that Mondejar was deſirous that a war ſhould be kindled, becauſe he expected that the whole adminiſtration of it would be committed to himſelf, and the Count of Tendilla his ſon.

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PHILIP, though naturally provident and ſuſpicious, and more inclined to fear than hope, was by his counſellors, who were Deza's friends,

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led to believe his repreſentation of the matter, rather than that of the Marquis. And thus the march of the troops for which Mondejar had applied was delayed, and the garriſon of Granada ſuffered to continue ſo weak, that had it not been for an accident which could not be foreſeen, that city would have fallen into the hands of the Moreſcoes. Aben-Humeya having held a ſecret correſpondence with the inhabitants of the town of Albaicin, which communicates with the city of Granada, and may be conſidered as a part of it, gave orders about the end of December to Aben-Farax, one of his principal officers to march thither with a body of between ſix and ſeven thouſand men. Had theſe troops reached Albaicin at the ſame time expected, the inhabitants would have joined them, and thereby have made up an army by which the garriſon muſt have been overpowered; but by a fall of ſnow upon a neighbouring mountain, over which they were obliged to paſs, they were all prevented from advancing except about one hundred and fifty. With theſe Aben-Farax himſelf entered Albaicin in the middle of the night; and if he could have prevailed upon the inhabitants to take arms and join him, he might ſtill have made himſelf maſter of the town; but, though well affected to his cauſe, they were deterred from the declaring in his favour by obſerving how ſmall a number of troops

troops he had brought along with him; ſo that, after having continued in the place for ſome hours, he was obliged, before the approach of day, to make his eſcape to the mountain where his army had been ſtopt. Philip's eyes were then opened, with regard to the contradictory informations which he had received, and he immediately iſſued orders for the march of thoſe troops for which the Marquis of Mondejar had applied. BOOK IX. 1568.

ABEN-HUMEYA in the mean time was employed in fortifying the narrow paſſes which led into the country of Alpuxara; after which he, with one body of troops, and Aben-Farax with another, went from place to place, exhorting or compelling the Moreſcoes to revolt; deſtroying the altars and images in the churches, which they converted into moſques; and putting to death, in the moſt barbarous manner, all the prieſts and other Chriſtians who refuſed to embrace the Mahometan religion. Their hoſtilities.

IN order to check their progreſs, the Marquis of Mondejar ſet out from Granada as ſoon as he had collected a ſufficient number of troops for his intended enterpriſe. The Moreſcoes diſputed with him for ſome time the entrance into the mountains; but they were unable to withſtand long the bold intrepid They ſubmit to the Marquis of Mondejar.

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trepid efforts of the Spaniſh infantry. Mondejar triumphed over them at every paſs; put many of them to the ſword; took a great number of priſoners, and at laſt obliged Aben-Humeya to fly with the ſhattered remains of his army, to the more inacceſſible parts of the mountains. In a few months almoſt the whole region of Alpuxara was ſubdued. The people, being every where intimidated by the rapidity of Mondejar's progreſs, laid down their arms, and either came to him in numerous bodies, or ſent deputies, to ſue for peace. This he readily granted, on condition of their yielding obedience in future to the King's authority; and he at the ſame time gave them protection againſt (what they had but too much reaſon to dread) the rapine and violence of the Spaniſh ſoldiers. The Marquis de los Velez, who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Almeria, was no leſs ſucceſsful in diſlodging the Moreſcoes from ſome ſtrong holds near the ſea-coaſts, where they had fortified themſelves with a view to favour the deſcent of the Moors and Turks. And now the Marquis of Mondejar, believing the war to be almoſt entirely extinguiſhed, and that Aben-Humeya muſt either ſoon ſurrender or make his eſcape out of the kingdom, ſent intelligence of his ſucceſs to Philip, and deſired that a part of the troops might be recalled. He at the ſame time recommended the

the treating gently both ſuch of the Moreſcoes as had ſubmitted, and ſuch of them as had been taken priſoners. But unfortunately this nobleman's enemies at court had much greater influence than his friends; and Philip was of of himſelf much more inclined to harſhneſs and ſeverity than to lenity and mercy. Without regard to Mondejar's repreſentations, a royal mandate was immediately diſpatched, commanding all the priſoners above eleven years of age, without diſtinction of ſex or condition, to be ſold for ſlaves [b].

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THIS barbarous treatment of their countrymen revived in the minds of ſuch of the Moreſcoes as had ſubmitted, all their wonted abhorrence of the Spaniſh yoke; and ſoon afterwards they themſelves were treated with equal inhumanity.

WHETHER Philip's Exchequer was in reality drained at this time by his late expenſive armaments in the Mediterranean, and his war in the Netherlands, or whether his miniſters only pretended this to be the caſe, in order to gratify their malignity againſt Mondejar,

[b] The effect of this barbarous treatment, ſays a Spaniſh hiſtorian (Ferreras), was, that great numbers of the Moreſco women languiſhed in ſlavery for a little time, and then ſunk under their calamities.

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does not ſufficiently appear; but, whatever was the cauſe, the arrears due to the troops were ſo great, that the Marquis of Mondejar was unable to diſcharge them. The uſual conſequence of the ill-payment of an army quickly followed. The General loſt his authority, and the ſoldiers, and ſeveral of the officers, deſerted their ſtations, and ſpread themſelves over the country; plundering, and even butchering and carrying off into ſlavery, great numbers of thoſe Moreſcoes for whoſe ſecurity he had pledged his faith. Mondejar ſeems to have exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly to put a ſtop to theſe enormities, by ſending out ſuch of his troops as he could truſt, to reſtrain or chaſtiſe the delinquents. But his endeavours were in a great meaſure fruitleſs. The Spaniards ſtill continued to embrace every opportunity of indulging their rapacity; and afterwards left their ſtandards, and went off to the neighbouring provinces with their prey.

THE Moreſcoes, highly exaſperated by the multiplied oppreſſions which they ſuffered, repented of their late ſubmiſſion; and, being now convinced that there was no ſafety in truſting to any treaty with an enemy ſo cruel and perfidious, they reſumed their arms, took ample vengeance on ſcattered parties of the Spaniards,

Spaniards, whom they ſurpriſed among the mountains, and again arranged themſelves under the banners of their King. It happened about this time, that Aben-Humeya received from Africa a reinforcement of four hundred Turks; who, it was pretended, were ſoon to be followed by a powerful fleet and army. And thus the Moreſcoes were determined, partly by hope, and partly by vengeance and deſpair, to make a ſecond trial of the fortune of war; the calamities attending which, they thought, could not exceed thoſe which they had lately experienced in the time of peace.

THE cauſes of this ſecond revolt were very differently interpreted by the Marquis of Mondejar's enemies and friends. By the former it was ſaid, "That this nobleman had erred egregiouſly, both in his manner of conducting the war, and in his treatment of the rebels, when they laid down their arms. For it was abſurd to expect that an enemy ſo treacherous as the Moreſcoes, would regard their engagements any longer than they found it neceſſary; and no leſs abſurd to hope that ſuch obſtinate infidels would ever be ſincere converts to the Chriſtian faith. Their late ſacrilege, and the barbarous cruelties which they had exerciſed againſt the prieſts, and other Chriſtians, had called aloud for vengeance;

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geance; and juſtice, as well as ſound policy, had required, that they ſhould all have been put to the ſword, or ſold for ſlaves."

But the Marquis, on the other hand, and his adherents, repreſented, that this deluded people had been chaſtiſed with ſufficient ſeverity, for enormities into which their leaders had betrayed them. That humanity, and a regard to the intereſt of the King, had prevented him from ſacrificing to revenge, the lives of ſo many thouſand uſeful ſubjects, moſt of whom were innocent of the crimes that had been committed; and by whoſe deſtruction ſo great a part of the kingdom would have been rendered deſolate: beſides, that there was no reaſon to believe that the Moreſcoes would have violated their faith, if the troops could have been kept under proper diſcipline; which he had found it impoſſible to maintain, partly through the negligence of ſome of the King's miniſters in making remittances for their pay, and partly through the pains which ſome perſons in power had taken to ruin his authority.

Don John of Auſtria Commander in Chief.

Between theſe contradictory repreſentations, Philip was at a loſs to determine what meaſures to purſue. But at laſt, either becauſe he himſelf, and moſt of his counſellors, diſapproved of Mondejar's lenity in ſo eaſily receiving

receiving the Moreſcoes into favour, or because he did not incline to ſubject that nobleman's enemies to the mortification of ſeeing him ſtill continued in the ſupreme command, he reſolved to beſtow it upon his natural brother Don John of Auſtria. BOOK IX. 1568.

This young Prince, whoſe mother was a German, of the name of Blomberg, a native of Ratiſbon, had been educated privately by Lewis Quixada, Lord of Villagarcia; for whoſe ſon he had paſſed, till Philip's arrival in Spain in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine. Soon after this, Philip having, agreeably to his father's requeſt, acknowledged Don John for his brother, had appointed him a houſehold ſuitable to his rank, and beſtowed the ſame attention on his education as on that of his own ſon.

Resembling his father in the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and in the courteouſneſs of his manners, Don John diſcovered, from his youth, the love of arms; and gave many conſpicuous proofs of thoſe accompliſhments by which he became afterwards one of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages of the age[c].

But as at this time he was only about twenty-two years old, and did not poſſeſs any

[c] Strada, an. 1578.

military

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military experience, Philip, although he conferred upon him the title of Commander in Chief, forbade him to take the command of the troops into his own hands, and required, that in the whole management of the war he ſhould conform to the opinion of certain counſellors whom he appointed to aſſiſt him. Theſe were, the Archbiſhop of Granada, Deza, the Preſident of the Chancery, the Duke de Seſſa, the Marquis of Mondejar, and Don Lewis de Requeſens, the Grand Commendator of Caſtile, whom he named for Don John's lieutenant.

THE war was now proſecuted in different quarters at the ſame time, and a greater number of troops employed than formerly. But the ſucceſs was not anſwerable to the expectations that had been formed. The Moreſcoes diſcovered, on many occaſions, that they were not deſtitute of valour, and in ſome rencounters they came off victorious.

The Moreſcoes are entirely ſubdued.

DON JOHN, in the mean time, grown extremely impatient under the reſtraints which had been impoſed on him, endeavoured to perſuade the King to permit him to command the forces in perſon; and he at length obtained his requeſt. After which, having got his army reinforced, he himſelf marched againſt the Moreſcoes on one ſide, while Requeſens

Requeſens and the Marquis de los Velez attacked them on another. But the Moreſcoes, undiſciplined, incompletely armed, and diſheartened by the diſappointment of their hopes of aſſiſtance from the Turks and Moors, were not a match for ſuch numerous regular forces as were now employed to reduce them, and their ruin was haſtened by the diſſentions of ſome of their leaders, and the treachery of others. Aben-Humeya was privately murdered by the friends of his wife, whoſe father he had put to death on account of his ſecret practices with the Spaniards. Another Chief, called Aben-Aboo, was elected King in his ſtead; and *he* too ſuffered the ſame fate, from the hands of ſome of his officers, who hoped by this ſacrifice to atone for their rebellion. With the death of this leader, the war, which had laſted almoſt two years, was concluded [d].

NEITHER Don John nor Requeſens acquired any glory by their conduct in this war; nor did they preſerve themſelves free from that

[d] In deſcribing this war, the Spaniſh hiſtorians have deſcended to the moſt minute detail. But amidſt the endleſs multiplicity of little events and incidents which they relate, there is almoſt no variety, and no diſplay either of courage or conduct that can intereſt a reader in the peruſal. This part of the Spaniſh hiſtory is beſides rendered peculiarly diſguſting by the numerous ſcenes of barbarous cruelty which it preſents.

impu-

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imputation of inhumanity and implacable revenge, which in this age was generally caſt upon the Spaniards.

No other apology can be offered for the dreadful ſeverities which they exerciſed, but that their conduct was conformable to the inſtructions given them by the King. For Philip had diſapproved of the lenity with which the Moreſcoes had been treated by the Marquis of Mondejar, and, while he liſtened only to the voice of ſuperſtition or reſentment, forgot what every wiſe King will regard as the moſt ſacred maxim of his policy, that the ſtrength and glory of a Prince depend on the number and proſperity of his ſubjects.

But this bigotted monarch ſet no bounds to his abhorrence of thoſe who deviated, or whom he ſuſpected of deviating, from the Catholic faith. Agreeably to his inſtructions, great numbers of the Moreſcoes, living peaceably in the plains of Granada, were, upon ſuſpicion of their correſponding with the inſurgents, put to death. All the inhabitants of ſome villages and diſtricts, men, women, and children, were extirpated. All the priſoners of both ſexes were either executed or deprived of their liberty. And of thoſe Moreſcoes who had refuſed to join in the rebellion, all but a few, without whom certain manufactures

nufactures could not be carried on, were torn from their native homes, and tranſported into the interior provinces; where they were expoſed to the injuries and inſults of a haughty people, and many of them by their poverty reduced to a ſtate of dependence on the Caſtilians, which differed little from the condition of ſuch of their countrymen as had been ſold for ſlaves.

SUCH was the concluſion of this war; during which, notwithſtanding the great diſparity between the contending parties, Philip was expoſed to greater danger than at any other period of his reign. Had the Moreſcoes made themſelves maſters of the city of Granada, in their attempt on which they failed, more through chance and accident than miſconduct or the want of ſtrength; or had they prevailed with Selim the Turkiſh Emperor, to intereſt himſelf in their behalf; ſeveral towns in Andaluſia, and almoſt the whole kingdom of Valentia, which was moſtly inhabited by Moreſcoes, would have joined in the revolt; and, in that caſe, ſo great an army might have been raiſed, as, with the aſſiſtance of the Moors in Barbary, would have furniſhed employment for many years to all the forces which the King, who was at the ſame time engaged in war with his ſubjects

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jects in the Netherlands, could have collected to oppoſe them.

But fortunately for Philip, and perhaps for Chriſtendom, the Sultan was at this time intent upon proſecuting the war of Cyprus againſt the Venetians, and from that war he could not be diverted, although Mahomet, his Grand Viſier, and the wiſeſt of all his courtiers, adviſed him earneſtly to ſuſpend the proſecution of it, and not to neglect the preſent happy opportunity of turning his arms againſt the King of Spain [c].

[c] Thuanus, lib. xlviii. Ferreras, an. 1568-9-70. Cabrera, lib. viii.

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IT was not long before Selim had reaſon to be ſorry that he had not liſtened to this advice, as Philip had no ſooner completed the reduction of the Moreſcoes, than he entered into an alliance againſt him with the republic of Venice, the Pope, and ſeveral others of the Italian ſtates and princes. The papal throne was filled at this time by the celebrated Pius the Fifth, who by his merit had raiſed himſelf from obſcurity to the popedom; and, though ſtrongly tinctured with ſome of the vices which characteriſed the eccleſiaſtics of that age, was endued with certain royal virtues which rendered him worthy of the exalted ſtation to which he had been advanced. Having been ſolicited by the Venetians, to employ his influence to procure aſſiſtance from the Chriſtian princes againſt the Sultan, who, in the time of peace, and in violation of a ſolemn treaty, had invaded the iſle of Cyprus, Pius readily conſented to their requeſt, and, with a zeal becoming the head of the church, eſpouſed their cauſe. War with the Turks.

HIS application, however, to moſt of the European monarchs, was without effect. For,

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beſides that the ſeaſon of Cruſades was now over, and that the moſt ſuperſtitious princes were, in that age, governed more by political views than religious zeal, he found almoſt all of them unable to grant the aſſiſtance which he ſolicited. The Emperor Maximilian had lately concluded a truce with the Sultan, which it was greatly his intereſt to maintain. The attention of the French King, who had been long in alliance with the Porte, was engroſſed by thoſe inveterate factions into which his kingdom was divided. Sebaſtian, King of Portugal, was too young; and Sigiſmund of Poland too much worn out with the infirmities of age, to engage in any foreign enterpriſe. Philip was the only great prince in Europe with whom Pius had reaſon to expect ſucceſs in his preſent application. That monarch's zeal, as well as his power, was greater than that of any other European prince, and from the ſituation of his dominions, and enmity which had long ſubſiſted between him and the Turkiſh Sultans, he had no leſs reaſon to dread the increaſe of the Ottoman power, than either the Pope or the Venetians.

Philip's league with the Pope and the Venetians.

WITHOUT heſitation therefore he reſolved to comply with the requeſt that was now made to him, and readily entered into an alliance, by which he bound himſelf to pay one half of the expence

expence of that powerful armament which it was judged neceſſary to employ, while the Republic of Venice engaged to defray three-fourths of the other half, and the Pope the remainder. 1571.

THE preparations ſtipulated were carried on with the utmoſt celerity and diſpatch, and about the middle of September a fleet was ready to ſail from Meſſina, conſiſting of upwards of two hundred and fifty ſhips of war, beſides ſhips of burthen, and, if we may believe the cotemporary hiſtorians, carrying near fifty thouſand men; fourteen thouſand of whom were furniſhed by the Princes and States of Italy.

THE chief command of this mighty armament was given to Don John of Auſtria, for whom the title of Generaliſſimo was invented on this occaſion. The Grand Commendator Requeſens was appointed his lieutenant, and under him were the Marquis de Santa-Croce, Doria, M. Antony Colonna, commander of the Pope's gallies, and Sebaſtian Veniero, who commanded thoſe of the Venetians.

THE aged Pontiff, overjoyed to obſerve that his negociations had been attended with ſo great ſucceſs, indulged the moſt ſanguine hopes with regard to the iſſue of the war; and, as if he

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he had received a revelation concerning it from Heaven, he exhorted Don John to embrace the firſt opportunity of engaging with the enemy, over whom he aſſured him he would obtain a complete victory. He ſent him at the ſame time a conſecrated ſtandard, and a number of eccleſiaſtics to officiate in ſacred things on board the ſhips; and ordered a faſt and jubilee to be proclaimed, with an abſolution from their ſins, to all who ſhould acquit themſelves with honour againſt the infidels.

Selim's preparations.

SELIM, on the other hand, exerted himſelf ſtrenuouſly in providing againſt ſo great a danger as now threatened to overwhelm him; and although a part of his troops were ſtill employed in reducing Cyprus, he was able, through the great reſources which he poſſeſſed, to equip a fleet ſtill more numerous than that of the Chriſtian allies. Hali, to whom the chief command of it was given, arrived on the weſtern coaſt of Greece about the time when Don John ſet ſail from Sicily; and the two fleets came in ſight of each other, with a reſolution not to decline fighting, on the 7th of October, near the gulph of Lepanto.

The battle of Lepanto.

THE battle was begun by the two Admirals, and their example was followed by all the other commanders, as faſt as the wind, or the general orders which they had received, would permit

mit them to advance. Between Don John and the Baſha the engagement was bloody and obſtinate. After cannonading one another for ſome time, they came to cloſe fight, and grappled with each other. The Spaniſh ſoldiers thrice boarded the enemy's ſhip, and were thrice repulſed with great ſlaughter. But at laſt Don John having received a reinforcement of two hundred men from the Marquis of Santa-Croce, the Turks were overpowered. Hali himſelf was killed, and all on board were either put to the ſword or taken priſoners. The creſcent of Mahomet was then taken down, and the ſtandard of the croſs erected in its ſtead; after which, Don John, in order to intimidate the enemy, gave orders to have the head of the Turkiſh Admiral fixed upon a long pole, which was faſtened to the topmaſt; and ſhouts were ſent from ſhip to ſhip of triumph and victory.

THE contending parties were in the mean time engaged in every quarter in furious combat with each other, fighting hand to hand, as on a field of battle, and employing not only guns and muſkets, but arrows, pikes, javelins, and all the other ancient as well as modern weapons of war. Both Turks and Chriſtians gave the moſt ſtriking diſplays of proweſs and intrepidity. Great numbers fell on both ſides, and the ſea for ſeveral miles was tinged with

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blood, and covered with mangled limbs and carcaſes. At laſt the Chriſtians were almoſt every where victorious. The Chriſtian ſlaves, by whom the Turkiſh gallies were rowed, took courage from the ſucceſs with which the arms of the allies were attended, broke looſe from their chains, and contributed not a little to fix the victory; while great numbers of the Spaniſh and Italian galley-ſlaves, prompted by the hopes of recovering their liberty, having obtained permiſſion from their officers, boarded and attacked the enemy with irreſiſtible fury, and diſplayed a contempt of danger with which nothing but deſpair, or the abhorrence of ſlavery, could have inſpired them. The Turks were at the ſame time greatly diſheartened by the loſs of their admiral; and being tempted by the hopes of making their eſcape upon a coaſt inhabited by their fellow-ſubjects, many of them ran their ſhips aſhore, and left them an eaſy prey to the enemy.

Cauſes of the victory.

THE Chriſtian fleet was much better manned than the Turkiſh, and the ſoldiers, having been a ſhorter time at ſea, were more freſh and vigorous. They were infinitely better furniſhed with mails and helmets, and made much more uſe of fire-arms than the enemy, many of whom were armed only with bows and arrows, the wounds inflicted by which were ſeldom mortal.

The

The prows of the Turkiſh gallies were likewiſe more open and defenceleſs; and the wind, which at firſt was favourable, changed ſuddenly againſt them, and greatly facilitated the motions of the Chriſtian fleet. From theſe cauſes, added to the fortunate bravery of Don John, ſeconded by the prudent and intrepid conduct of Requeſens, Santa-Croce, Colonna, and above all of Veniero, Barbarigo, and other noble Venetians, the allies gained the moſt memorable victory of which we read in the hiſtory of modern times. 1571.

The loſs on both ſides.

It was not indeed obtained without conſiderable loſs. Near ten thouſand of the Chriſtians were killed in the engagement, or died afterwards of their wounds. Among theſe was the Venetian Proveditor, Barbarigo, a nobleman equally celebrated for his wiſdom, his valour, and his moderation. His death was deeply lamented by the allies, and proved an irreparable misfortune to the common cauſe. But, to compenſate for theſe loſſes, near fifteen thouſand Chriſtians were delivered from captivity; and of the Turks, above five and twenty thouſand were killed, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. A hundred and thirty of their ſhips fell into the enemy's hands, and all the reſt were either ſunk or battered to pieces, or burnt, except between thirty and forty with

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which Ulucciali, the famous Corſair, eſcaped to Conſtantinople, through his ſuperior ſkill in navigation, and his knowledge of the ſeas.

THIS victory, gained over the implacable enemy of Chriſtendom, ſpread univerſal joy throughout all Europe; and Don John, to whom as Commander in Chief it was principally aſcribed, was celebrated every where as the greateſt hero of the age. No perſon had more reaſon to rejoice than Philip, yet he received the meſſenger with a cold indifference; which his cotemporaries were not inclined to attribute to his moderation, ſo much as to that jealouſy of his brother's fame, of which he gave afterwards a more convincing proof. "Don John," ſaid he, "has gained the victory, but he hazarded too much: he might have loſt it." The Pope's joy on this occaſion was more ſincere. When he received the news, he cried out, in the words of ſacred writ, "There was a man ſent from God, whoſe name was John."

The allies return home.

BUT the fruits of this ſignal victory were not proportional to the joy which it excited. The ſeveral Admirals differed widely from one another with regard to the meaſures proper to be taken in the further proſecution of the war. Although Don John had been honoured with the extraordinary title of Generaliſſimo, yet, according

according to the treaty of alliance, no matter of importance could be determined without the conſent of the other commanders. He would have ſailed immediately after the battle for the Dardanelles, to intercept the remains of the Turkiſh fleet, and to block up the communication between Conſtantinople and the Mediterranean; but the Venetians and other members of the council of war refuſed to agree to this propoſal. Other enterpriſes were afterwards propoſed, and rejected; nor could they fix on any one common meaſure, but that of returning home, to repair the damage which had been ſuſtained, and to prepare for reſuming their operations in the Spring. 1571.

Embaſſy of the Greeks to Don John.

Not long after Don John's arrival at Meſſina, the Chriſtians in Albania and Macedonia, filled with admiration of his character, and believing that it muſt be long before the Turks could recover from the blow which they had received, ſent an embaſſy to make him an offer of the ſovereignty over them, and to aſſure him, that, if he would come to their aſſiſtance with a fleet and army, they would ſhake off the Turkiſh yoke, and ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in his ſervice.

Don John, whoſe ruling paſſion was ambition, would gladly have accepted this tempting

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offer, but was obliged to inform the ambaſſadors, that before he could comply with their requeſt, the King muſt be conſulted, and his conſent obtained. He accordingly ſent immediate notice to his brother of the propoſal that had been made to him. And Philip, whether prompted by jealouſy, as was generally believed, or by motives of prudence and policy, as he gave out, put an end at once to any hopes which Don John might have conceived, by telling him, that at preſent all thoughts of ſuch an enterpriſe muſt be laid aſide, leſt the Venetians ſhould take the alarm, and abandon the confederacy. This, it is not improbable, would have happened, ſince the Venetians had no leſs reaſon to dread the neighbourhood of the Spaniards than of the Turks; and had beſides a claim themſelves to a part of thoſe territories, to the ſovereignty of which Don John aſpired.

Preparations of the Turks.

In the mean time Ulucciali, whom Selim had made Commander in Chief of all his naval forces, exerted himſelf with extraordinary vigour and activity in fitting out a new fleet, to ſupply the place of that which had been ruined in the battle of Lepanto; and ſuch at this time were the reſources of the Turkiſh empire, that he was ready by the month of April to leave Conſtantinople, with more than two hundred gallies, beſides a great number of other ſhips.

With

WITH this fleet he coaſted along Negropont, the Morea, and Epirus; put the maritime towns into a poſture of defence; chaſtiſed with great ſeverity many of thoſe Chriſtians who had been concerned in the invitation given to Don John; and afterwards took his ſtation at Modon in the Morea, with an intention to watch there the motions of the enemy. 1571.

Inactivity of the allies.

HE had full leiſure to finiſh all the preparations which he judged to be neceſſary. The allies diſputed long with one another concerning the plan of their future operations; and at laſt, when, through the inactivity which their diſſentions had occaſioned, it was become neceſſary for them to drop their ſcheme of conqueſt in Greece and Africa, and to go a ſecond time in queſt of the Turkiſh fleet, Philip having conceived a ſuſpicion that the court of France had, in order to gratify the Sultan, formed the deſign of attacking him in Piedmont, or the Netherlands, ſent inſtructions to Don John to delay for ſome time longer his departure from Meſſina. At this place the Spaniſh fleet remained till after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; when Philip, being delivered from his anxiety with regard to the intentions of the French court, gave his brother permiſſion to join the Venetians, and to act

Auguſt 1572.

in

BOOK IX. in concert with them in profecuting the war againſt the Turks.

1572.

They at laſt ſet ſail for Greece.

BUT it was the laſt day of Auguſt before the allies could effectuate a junction of their forces; and it was the middle of September before they came in ſight of the enemy. Immediately after their arrival on the Grecian coaſt, Ulucciali drew out his fleet, as if he intended to offer battle; but no ſooner had he made a ſingle diſcharge of his artillery, in the way of bravado or defiance, than he retired under the fortifications of Modon. Theſe he had ſtrengthened in ſuch a manner, as to render it extremely dangerous for the allies to approach; and he reſolved to lie in wait there for ſome favourable opportunity of attacking them, or at leaſt to keep his fleet in readineſs to harraſs and interrupt them, in caſe they ſhould attempt a deſcent.

Ulucciali declines fighting.

DON JOHN called a council of his general officers, to conſider of the meaſures proper to be purſued in caſe the Turkiſh Admiral ſhould perſiſt in his reſolution to decline fighting. It was thought impracticable to force their way into the harbour of Modon; and therefore it was reſolved to put the forces on ſhore, and to beſiege the town by land. But from this attempt

attempt they were ſoon deterred, by the information which they received from ſome troops ſent to reconnoitre the ſtrength of the place; which was ſo completely fortified, that they could not expect to reduce it before the approach of Winter. BOOK IX. 1572.

Siege of Navarino

It was next agreed to attempt the reduction of Navarino, which is another town on the weſtern coaſt of the Morea, not many miles from Modon. The conduct of this enterpriſe was committed to Alexander Farneſe, Prince of Parma, who ſome years afterwards filled all Europe with his renown, and acquired the character of one of the greateſt generals of this or perhaps of any other age. But the preſent undertaking did not afford him an opportunity of diſplaying thoſe ſuperior talents for which he is ſo juſtly celebrated. The garriſon was powerfully reinforced by detachments ſent from Modon; and ſo numerous an army was drawn together from the neighbouring towns, and ſent by Ulucciali to attack the beſiegers, that Farneſe, after battering the ramparts for ſeveral days, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and put his forces on board the fleet, which ſoon afterwards ſet ſail for Meſſina.

is raiſed.

Death of Pius.

Some months before this time the league had ſuffered an irreparable loſs, by the death of

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the Pope; whoſe ſucceſſor, Gregory the XIIIth, had neither the ſame zeal nor the ſame influence and authority. Gregory, however, entered readily into his predeceſſor's views, and ſhewed himſelf willing to purſue the plan which Pius had adopted. And Philip, who was now entirely free from his apprehenſions of a French invaſion, had reſolved to exert himſelf more than ever in the proſecution of the war. But the Venetians having been highly diſſatisfied with the inactivity of the Spaniſh fleet in the preceding Summer; and finding that after a trial of two years they had, notwithſtanding the victory of Lepanto, derived little advantage from the war, to compenſate for the great expence which it had coſt them, they liſtened to propoſals made them by the French Ambaſſador, and through his interceſſion concluded a ſeparate peace with the Sultan.

The Venetians make peace with the Turks.

THE Pope and Don John expreſſed their indignation againſt the Venetians, on this occaſion, without reſerve. But Philip thought it beneath his dignity to diſcover either uneaſineſs or reſentment; and when intelligence of the peace was brought him, he anſwered coolly, that he had entered into the league at the deſire of the ſovereign Pontiff; and that, although the Venetians had thought proper to abandon it, he would ſtill employ his fleet and army as before,

before, for the attainment of thoſe important ends, the humbling of the infidels, and the ſecurity of Chriſtendom, with a view to which the confederacy had been formed. BOOK IX. 1572.

AGREEABLY to this reſolution, he ſent orders to Don John, to Doria, and the Marquis of Santa-Croce, to employ their utmoſt diligence in repairing and augmenting the fleet, and to hold it ready for entering upon action in the Spring. Theſe orders were punctually executed. Ulucciali, with the Turkiſh fleet, advanced as far as Preveſa in Epirus. But neither he nor the Spaniſh commanders thought it expedient to try their force in a general engagement. At length Ulucciali, after reinforcing the garriſons of the maritime towns, diſmiſſed the Corſairs who had come to his aſſiſtance, and about the end of the Summer ſet ſail for Conſtantinople. After which Don John, agreeably to his inſtructions from the King, paſſed over to Africa, with an intention to undertake the reduction of Tunis; carrying with him for this purpoſe a fleet of two thouſand ſail, having twenty thouſand foot on board, beſides four hundred light horſe, ſeven hundred pioneers, and a numerous train of heavy artillery.

TUNIS was at this time in the hands of the Turks, commanded by Heder Baſha, whom Selim had lately ſent to govern the town and kingdom.

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kingdom. Heder, ſeized with conſternation at the approach of the Spaniſh fleet, left Tunis with his troops and a great number of the inhabitants, and Don John took poſſeſſion of the place, without meeting with the ſmalleſt oppoſition.

PHILIP had inſtructed his brother, when he ſent him on this expedition, to deſtroy Tunis, and to ſtrengthen the fortifications of the iſle and fortreſs of Goletta [c]. But inſtead of complying with theſe inſtructions, Don John reſolved to fortify the town more ſtrongly than ever; and having laid the foundations of a new fort, or citadel, he treated all the inhabitants who remained with lenity and indulgence; and engaged many of thoſe who had fled, to return and ſubmit to the Spaniſh government; after which he carried back his fleet to Sicily.

HE ſoon diſcovered his intention in acting a part ſo contrary to the orders of the King. His ſucceſs in an enterpriſe in which the late Emperor had failed, though entirely owing to the cowardice of the Turkiſh Governor, had inflamed his ambition; and he had conceived the hopes that his brother would be perſuaded

[c] The Goletta, which is ſituated at the entrance of the bay of Tunis, had been in the hands of the Spaniards ever ſince it was conquered by the Emperor Charles.

to

to grant him the title and dignity of the King of Tunis, in compenſation for the ſovereignty of Greece, which he had prevented him from accepting. The Pope, it is ſaid, had diſapproved of Philip's reſolution to demoliſh Tunis; and had ſecretly encouraged Don John to venture upon diſobeying him; from an opinion that the erecting a Chriſtian kingdom in Barbary, would prove the moſt effectual means of extirpating the piratical ſtates. It is certain that Gregory warmly ſolicited Philip to confer upon his brother the ſovereignty of his new conqueſt, and repreſented that all Chriſtendom, and eſpecially Spain and Italy, would from thence derive the moſt ſubſtantial advantages.

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Philip was conſcious that, notwithſtanding his copious reſources, it was beyond his power, while the war in the Netherlands ſubſiſted, to effectuate the eſtabliſhment of a new kingdom in oppoſition to ſo potent an enemy as the Turkiſh Sultan. And he had deſired the fortifications of Tunis to be diſmantled, in order to ſave the expence of a numerous garriſon, which would be neceſſary for its defence. He did not, however, expreſs great reſentment againſt his brother for counteracting his inſtructions. But when the Pope interceded with him to confer the ſovereignty on Don John, he replied, "That, although no perſon could

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could be more ſincerely concerned than himſelf, for his brother's honour and intereſt, yet there was much ground to doubt, whether either the one or the other would be advanced by his complying with the Pope's requeſt; and that he could not grant it, till he ſhould know whether he was able to maintain the acquiſition that had been made, againſt the formidable armament which the Sultan was preparing for its recovery." The prudence of this reply, whether it did or did not proceed from ſome ſecret motive of jealouſy againſt his brother, was fully juſtified by the iſſue.

Tunis and the Goletta taken by the Turks.

In the Summer following, Selim ſent Ulucciali againſt Tunis, with a fleet conſiſting of three hundred ſhips, having about forty thouſand troops on board, under the command of his ſon-in-law Sinan Baſha. The new fort which Don John had begun to build, was not yet complete. Nor was the garriſon which he had left ſtrong enough to hold out long againſt ſo great a force. Don John laboured with much zeal and anxiety in aſſembling the Spaniſh fleet, with an intention to raiſe the ſiege, but he was detained for ſeveral weeks, firſt in one harbour, and afterwards in another, by tempeſtuous weather and contrary winds. The Turks in the mean time being powerfully ſeconded by many thouſand Moors, under the Governor

Governor of Tripoli and the Viceroy of Algiers, puſhed forward their operations at the ſame time againſt Tunis and the Goletta. The garriſons defended themſelves long with the utmoſt bravery; but at laſt they were overpowered by numbers, and both the Goletta and the town were taken by aſſault.

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Don John was affected in the moſt ſenſible manner by this diſaſter; which ſhewed him the folly of his late preſumption, and extinguiſhed thoſe flattering hopes which he had long indulged of attaining ſome regal or ſovereign eſtabliſhment. His mortification on this occaſion was the greater, becauſe, after his moſt vigorous efforts, the Spaniſh fleet was ſtill too weak to enable him to take vengeance on the enemy. Philip, for the ſame reaſon, dreaded that the Turkiſh commanders would purſue their conqueſts, and either attack his other poſſeſſions in Africa, or attempt a deſcent in Naples or Sicily, and it is probable that his apprehenſions would have proved but too well founded, had not Selim died about this time, and left his throne to his ſon Amurath the Third; who devoted the beginning of his reign to the arts of peace[f].

[f] Prince Cantemir's Hiſt. of the Ottoman empire. Antonio Herrera; and Ferreras in hoc anno. Miniana, lib. vii.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BOOK X.

DURING the courſe of the tranſactions related in the preceding book, a variety of important events happened in the Netherlands, which require a more circumſtantial narration.

BOOK X.

1568. Affairs of the Netherlands.

In oppoſing the Prince of Orange and Count Lewis of Naſſau, it was confeſſed, even by the Duke of Alva's enemies, that he acted with the moſt conſummate prudence; and if his conduct afterwards had been equally prudent, he might, notwithſtanding the general odium which his tyranny had excited againſt him, have preſerved the Netherlands in obedience to his authority. For if ſuch of the people as

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were diſaffected to his government remained quiet while the Prince of Orange was at hand to favour their attempts, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that, after all their hopes of aſſiſtance were extinguiſhed, they would have ever dared to diſpute his will. And indeed the ſpirits of this unhappy people, at the preſent period, ſeem to have been ſo entirely broken, and their minds ſo deeply impreſſed with awe and terror, that nothing could have inſpired them with the courage which they afterwards diſplayed, but inſolence and oppreſſion carried to the moſt enormous height.

Alva's vanity and arrogance.

As ſoon as the army of the Prince of Orange was diſbanded, Alva diſmiſſed his German cavalry, and having diſtributed the greateſt part of his infantry into winter quarters, he ſet out himſelf with the remainder for Bruſſels; where, after a triumphant entry, he ordered his victory to be celebrated with every ſpecies of rejoicing. He then commanded a ſolemn thankſgiving for the ſucceſs which had attended his arms to be obſerved through all the provinces; and ordered a ſtatue of himſelf to be formed in braſs, and medals to be ſtruck, which, while they ſerved to perpetuate the memory of his exploits, gave proof of a degree of vanity and arrogance, which put his friends to the bluſh, and made the world unwilling to yield

yield him that praiſe which his vigour and abilities would have procured him[a]. One of the

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[a] In one of the medals he was repreſented riding in a triumphal chariot, with a Victory behind him putting a crown upon his head. In his right-hand he held a ſword, to ſignify that he had conquered Count Lewis by open force; and in the left, an Ægis, to expreſs that wiſdom of which he had availed himſelf againſt the Prince of Orange: and as a farther emblem of his wiſdom, the chariot was drawn by owls, which in the ancient heathen ſuperſtition were ſacred to Minerva.

But his ſtatue, which was made at this time, and afterwards placed in the citadel of Antwerp, afforded a ſtill more ſtriking proof of his vanity and arrogance. It was the workmanſhip of Jockeling, a German artiſt, the moſt celebrated ſculptor of the age. The Governor was repreſented trampling under his feet the figure of a monſter, having certain emblematical ſigns in different parts, which denoted the petition which had been preſented to the Ducheſs of Parma, the compromiſe, and the inſurrection and tumults which enſued. The baſe of the work was a ſquare pillar of marble, containing on one ſide the artiſt's name, and on the other three ſides an encomium of the Duke of Alva; who is there ſaid to have extinguiſhed hereſy and rebellion, to have ſaved the church from deſtruction, and reſtored juſtice and tranquillity to the Netherlands. This monument of Alva's vanity was far from being acceptable to the King; it was a ſubject of deriſion among his enemies at the court of Spain; and in the Flemings, it excited the higheſt reſentment and indignation*.

It appears from Grotius, that about this time the Duke made ſeveral uſeful regulations with regard to trade, the coin, and the liberty of the preſs; but they failed in pro-

* Bentivoglio, p. 86. Van Loon, tom. i. p. 135. Strada, p. 250.

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the firſt acts of his adminiſtration, after his return to Bruſſels, was to determine the fate of the priſoners whom he had taken during the campaign; and all ſuch of them as were inhabitants of the Netherlands were treated as rebels, and put to death.

His tyranny.

A STRICT inquiry was ſet on foot, to diſcover thoſe who had, either by word or deed, whilſt the war ſubſiſted, ſhewn their inclinations favourable to the Prince of Orange. And as the iſſue of the war had remained long uncertain, and fortune had ſometimes favoured one ſide and ſometimes another, many perſons had unwarily given vent both to their hopes and to their fears; little ſuſpecting that they were to be called to ſo rigorous an account for unguarded expreſſions, uttered among their friends and neighbours, which were now imputed to them as the moſt atrocious crimes. The people of the Low Countries had long enjoyed the privilege of not being tried by any judges, but thoſe of the city or diſtrict to which they belonged; and no citizen could be put to death who had not confeſſed his crime. No regard was paid to either of theſe privileges. Perſons of all ranks were hurried from

moting the purpoſes for which they were intended, and even the memory of them was ſoon effaced by the violence of the meaſures which he afterwards purſued.

the

the places of their reſidence, and carried to ſo great a diſtance as made it impoſſible for them to diſprove the accuſations brought againſt them, however groundleſs. Great numbers were ſeized on bare ſuſpicion; many ſuffered death on the ſlighteſt evidence; and others were haraſſed with proſecutions, by which they were reduced to the utmoſt poverty and diſtreſs [b].

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THE iniquity and unrelenting cruelty exerciſed by the inquiſitors diffuſed an univerſal terror over all the provinces. Not only the Proteſtants, but likewiſe all who had ever ſhewn themſelves attached to the liberty of

The Netherlands deſerted by great numbers of the people.

[b] The negligence which the judges diſcovered in the ſentences which they paſſed againſt the unhappy victims delivered over to them by the inquiſitors, and in the warrants which they ſigned for their execution, would be incredible, if the many inſtances recorded by the contemporary hiſtorians did not put it beyond all doubt. An order was iſſued at this time for executing ſeveral of the priſoners who had been condemned. In the liſt of their names, the name of one man was inſerted whoſe cauſe had not been tried, and he too was led to execution. Some time after, the judges gave orders to have this man brought before them for his trial. They were informed, that in obedience to their former command, he had already ſuffered death; and proof was at the ſame time laid before them of his innocency. Moſt of the judges expreſſed on this occaſion great uneaſineſs; but Vargas, the Spaniſh lawyer, obſerved, that what had happened, if rightly conſidered, ought not to give them much concern, ſince it was happy for the man's ſoul that he died innocent.

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their country, ſaw that nothing leſs would ſatisfy the Governor than their utter ruin. It would not avail them, they perceived, to conceal their ſentiments, nor even to diſclaim them; ſince many of thoſe who had done ſo, had been puniſhed with death and confiſcation; and had received no other favour from the judges, but that of having ſuffered by the ſword or halter, inſtead of being committed to the flames. Determined by theſe conſiderations, great numbers of both ſexes abandoned their habitations, and withdrew into foreign parts. We ought not, perhaps, to believe what ſome hiſtorians relate, that no leſs than a hundred thouſand houſes were forſaken by the inhabitants. It is however certain, that ſeveral of the principal cities were ſenſibly thinner, and ſome whole villages and ſmaller towns were rendered almoſt deſolate. Many of thoſe who left the Netherlands went over to England, where they were well received by Elizabeth. And as in that country they enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religion, they fixed their reſidence in it; and amply rewarded the Engliſh for the protection afforded them, by introducing among that people various branches of manufacture, with which they had before been unacquainted.

THE Low Countries ſuffered extremely from this emigration of the inhabitants. But the Duke

Duke of Alva, far from being deterred by this consideration from the prosecution of his plan, was at pains to prevent the return of the exiles, and even prohibited from returning all such of their friends as had gone to visit them, by publishing an edict, setting forth, that they should be considered as holding intercourse with rebels, and should be liable to the punishment due to those who gave assistance to the enemies of the King. BOOK X. 1568.

THE Governor's vanity was flattered about this time, by an embassy which came from the Pope, to present him a consecrated hat and sword. This sort of present, which used to be bestowed only upon princes, was conferred on the Duke of Alva, as an illustrious defender of the Popish faith; and it contributed to confirm him in the pursuit of those sanguinary measures, which had procured him such a distinguished honour.

BUT there was now almost no occasion for employing measures of this kind in his government of the Netherlands. All persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious to his displeasure, had either been put to death, or had gone into a voluntary banishment; while those who remained had shewn themselves ready to yield an implicit and entire obedience to his will. The new Bishops, the decrees of the council of The rest entirely subdued.

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of Trent, the rites and ceremonies of the Roman church, were received and eſtabliſhed throughout all the provinces.

Anxiety of the Queen of England.

THIS ſucceſs of the Duke of Alva's arms and councils gave great uneaſineſs to ſome of the neighbouring princes, and particularly to the Queen of England. That wiſe Princeſs had, from the beginning of her reign, beheld with anxiety the growing power of the Spaniſh monarchy. She knew how much Philip was inclined to diſturb her government, and was ſenſible of the advantage which the vicinity of his dominions in the Netherlands afforded him, for carrying any ſcheme which he might form againſt her into execution; eſpecially at the preſent period, when, inſtead of the limited prerogative which he had hitherto enjoyed in theſe provinces, he had acquired an abſolute or deſpotic power, and eſtabliſhed a military force, which was formidable to the neighbouring nations, as well as to the people whom it had been employed to ſubdue. Prompted by theſe conſiderations, Elizabeth had granted her protection to the Flemiſh exiles; and, if we may credit ſome hiſtorians, ſhe had given ſecret aſſiſtance in money to the Prince of Orange. The ſituation of her affairs at home, where ſhe was diſquieted by the machinations of the partiſans of the Queen of Scots, rendered it inexpedient for her to come to an open breach

with the Spaniſh monarch; but notwithſtanding this, ſhe had reſolved to lay hold of the firſt proper opportunity that ſhould occur of counteracting his deſigns. BOOK X. 1568.

She ſeizes money belonging to Philip.

It was not long before an occaſion of this kind offered, which ſhe readily embraced. Some merchants of Genoa, having engaged to tranſmit certain ſums of money for Philip's uſe into the Netherlands, had put four hundred thouſand crowns on board five ſmall veſſels, which, being attacked on their way to Antwerp by privateers belonging to the Prince of Condé, were obliged to take ſhelter in the harbours of Plymouth and Southampton. The Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of London immediately applied for a ſafe conduct, that he might ſend the money by the neareſt way to the Low Countries; and at firſt Elizabeth ſeemed willing to grant his requeſt; but afterwards ſhe ordered the ambaſſador to be told, that, as ſhe underſtood the money was the property of the Italian merchants, ſhe had reſolved to detain it for ſome time in her own hands, and would take care that the owners ſhould not have any reaſon to complain. The ambaſſador endeavoured to make it appear, that the money belonged to the King his maſter; and he was ſeconded in his applications for it by letters addreſſed to the Queen from the Duke

of

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of Alva. Elizabeth lent a deaf ear to their remonſtrances, and diſcovered plainly, that ſhe had reſolved to keep the money. Alva was not of a temper to bear patiently this inſult. It was ever more agreeable to his nature, to conquer difficulties, than to attempt, by negociation, to elude them. Without regard to treaties ſubſiſting between the Engliſh and the Flemings, and without conſulting either the States or council of the Netherlands, he ordered all the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp to be caſt into priſon, and their effects to be confiſcated. He did not conſider, or he was not moved by the conſideration, that the Flemings had at that time a much greater quantity of goods in England, than the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Flanders. Elizabeth had no reaſon therefore to be ſorry for what had happened. But ſhe diſpatched an ambaſſador to Philip, to complain of the injury done to her; and not receiving ſatisfaction, ſhe proceeded to make repriſals, and ſeized effects, belonging to Spaniſh and Flemiſh merchants, by which her ſubjects were more than compenſated for all the loſſes which they had ſuſtained in Flanders. Alva came at laſt to perceive his error, and ſent over Chriſtopher Aſſonville to England, to negociate an agreement with the Queen. Elizabeth, who took pleaſure to mortify the pride of Alva, refuſed to admit Aſſonville into her

her preſence, becauſe he had not credentials from Philip. Alva, more enraged than ever by this affront, prohibited the people in the Low Countries from holding any commercial intercourſe with the Engliſh; but at laſt, after various negociations, the matter was adjuſted by treaty, and the trade put upon its former footing, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-four [d].

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In the mean time Elizabeth gained her end, and did a moſt material prejudice to Philip's intereſt in the Netherlands. This prejudice was indeed much greater than ſhe intended, and was accompanied with more important conſequences than ſhe could poſſibly foreſee. Great arrears were due to the Spaniſh troops, and Alva had contracted a conſiderable debt by building citadels. Philip's treaſury, although the richeſt in Europe, was exhauſted by the expenſive wars in which he had been engaged againſt the Turks and Moors; nor could he at preſent afford the money requiſite for the maintenance of his forces in Flanders. In this ſituation, the Governor found it neceſſary to have recourſe to the Flemings, whom he believed to be ſo thoroughly ſubdued, that they would not refuſe to comply with any demand which he could make upon them.

[d] Meteren, p. 80. Strada, p. 252. Bentivoglio, p. 80.

The

BOOK X.

1568. Taxes of the 10th and 20th pennies.

THE abſurdity and folly, added to the oppreſſion and tyranny, into which his arrogance, together with his ignorance of the intereſts of a commercial people, betrayed him on this occaſion, may juſtly be regarded as the chief cauſe of all the difficulties which he afterwards encountered, and of all thoſe aſtoniſhing exertions which the people made to free themſelves from the Spaniſh yoke. It may appear ſurpriſing, that the impoſing of taxes, however burdenſome, ſhould have wrought more powerfully on their minds, than the cruel perſecutions which had been exerciſed with ſuch unrelenting fury on account of religion. But the reaſon is obvious. The perſecutions extended only to a certain number of individuals; whereas the taxes affected all men alike, and muſt have proved the ſource of univerſal and perpetual oppreſſion.

THE people in the Low Countries had in no period been accuſtomed to be taxed by their princes. The power of impoſing taxes belonged, by the conſtitution and conſtant practice, to the aſſembly of the States. And when the Prince had occaſion for money, he had been accuſtomed, from the earlieſt times, to petition the States for a ſupply, which they either granted or refuſed, as they were ſatisfied or diſpleaſed with the reaſons for demanding it.

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At certain periods, and particularly in the beginning of the preſent reign, they had carried their jealouſy of this important privilege ſo far, as to appoint commiſſioners of their own to receive the money from the people, and to ſee it applied to the purpoſes for which it had been granted. The Duke of Alva paid no greater regard to this than he had done to their other privileges. He reſolved by his own authority to eſtabliſh taxes, ſufficient not only to ſupply his preſent neceſſity, but to ſerve as a perpetual fund for defraying all the expences of his government.

The manner in which theſe taxes were impoſed was not more arbitrary, than the taxes themſelves were oppreſſive. They were three in number. The firſt was a tax of one *per cent.* on all goods, whether moveable or immoveable. The ſecond, of twenty *per cent.* to be paid annually, of all immoveable goods, or heritage. And the third, of ten *per cent.* of all moveable goods, to be paid on every ſale. It was enacted, that the firſt of theſe taxes ſhould be paid only once; but it was ordained, that the other two ſhould continue as long as the public exigencies ſhould require.

Excite univerſal diſcontent.

Intimation was made of theſe demands, in the name of the King, to an aſſembly of the States;

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States; and it is impoſſible to deſcribe the aſtoniſhment which they excited. The deputies knew not what anſwer to return; and therefore deſired time to conſider of the Governor's requiſitions, and to tranſmit an account of them to their conſtituents. They were received every where with grief and indignation; and there was nothing to be heard but the bittereſt lamentations over all the provinces.

"IT was not enough," they complained, "for the King to have ſtripped the country of infinite numbers of the people; to have filled the provinces with foreign ſoldiers, and to have wreathed the yoke about the necks of the inhabitants, by garriſons and citadels; but they muſt likewiſe bear the charge of ſupporting thoſe inſtruments of their oppreſſion; and for this purpoſe, inſtead of the voluntary and moderate contributions which they had been wont to pay under former Princes, be loaded for ever with the moſt violent and oppreſſive taxes. Notwithſtanding the injuſtice with which they had been treated from the beginning of the Governor's adminiſtration, yet, during this conteſt with the Princes of Naſſau, they had remained unſhaken in their fidelity to the King, and even co-operated with his forces againſt the enemy; but it now appeared that their moſt implacable enemy was the King himſelf; who ſeemed to

deſire

desire nothing so much, as to reduce them to a state of the most wretched slavery; and in order to accomplish an end so cruel and inglorious, had sent among them the Duke of Alva, whose conduct seemed rather as if he had come to extirpate the inhabitants, than to govern or protect them. But they had already borne too much. It was time to shew that they had not been insensible of the treatment which they had received, and that they were not altogether unworthy of their illustrious ancestors, to whose wisdom and valour they were indebted for those invaluable privileges, of which the King, and the odious instruments of his tyranny, now wanted to deprive them[c]. 1569.

Opposition of the assembly of the States.

When the States found that the new taxes were so universally disagreeable to their constituents, they took courage, and represented their own sentiments concerning them to the Governor. They reminded him of the disturbances which had arisen from an attempt to establish the tax of the hundredth penny, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-six; when persons of all ranks discovered an irreconcileable aversion to it, not only on account of the exorbitancy of the tax itself, but because it reduced them to the disagree-

[c] Bentivoglio, p. 82.

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able neceſſity of laying open their private affairs. There was ſtill greater reaſon, they obſerved, for being diſſatisfied with the other taxes; and eſpecially that of the tenth part of moveable goods, to be paid at every ſale. This was not only ſuch a tax as had been never known in the Low Countries, but would prove a burden which it would be utterly impoſſible to ſupport. It would amount, in many caſes, nearly to the value of the commodities themſelves; ſince the ſame commodities were often transferred from one perſon to another, and from him to a third, a fourth, a fifth, a ſixth, before they came into the hands of the conſumer. In woollen manufactures this was unavoidable; the wool was purchaſed by one ſet of manufacturers; the yarn by another; the cloth, before it was dyed, by a third; then it was ſold to the merchant; by him, to the retailer; and by the retailer to his cuſtomers for uſe; and thus the tax propoſed would amount to ſix or ſeven tenths of the full value of the commodity. Several conſequences, fatal to the proſperity of the people, would enſue. Foreigners would no longer purchaſe their manufactures, becauſe they could not ſell them at the uſual prices. The manufacturers and merchants would fly from a country where they were ſo grievouſly oppreſſed; and the Flemings would be obliged to have recourſe to foreign nations for thoſe commodities

modities with which foreigners had hitherto been ſupplied by them. Thus the ſources of their wealth would in a little time be dried up; and, as they would not have any manufactures of their own, ſo they could not long poſſeſs the means of purchaſing them from others. To theſe reaſons they added another, taken from the great expence and difficulty with which the collection of the tax propoſed muſt be attended. A multitude of tax-gatherers muſt be employed; the people would ſtill find it practicable, in numberleſs caſes, to elude the tax; and the tranquillity of the provinces would be continually diſturbed with altercations and diſputes.

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In anſwer to this remonſtrance, Alva, with much ignorance and haughtineſs, replied, that nothing could convince him that the taxes required would be ſo oppreſſive as had been repreſented; ſince it was evident, that he demanded only one part of ten for the King, and left the remaining parts to the people. That in his town of Alva in Spain, the tax of the tenth penny was actually paid, and yielded him a yearly rent of between forty and fifty thouſand ducats. That if ſuch a revenue as he expected ſhould ariſe from it in the Netherlands, he would deliver the people from all their other taxes. That he had often heard the late Emperor complain of the diffi-

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culty of procuring money from his ſubjects in the Low Countries; and that, in order to obtain it, he had been conſtrained to grant them privileges greatly prejudicial to his authority. But at preſent there was no room for remonſtrances. Great arrears were due to his troops; ſeveral new forts muſt be built without delay for the ſecurity of the country; money for theſe purpoſes muſt be immediately procured, and he could not deviſe any more effectual means of raiſing it, than the taxes which were propoſed[f].

Such was the Governor's reply to the aſſembly of the States; but being ſenſible of the difficulties which attended his plan, he laid it before the council, and deſired the counſellors to conſider of the moſt effectual method of carrying it into execution. There were ſome of them, who, in order to ingratiate themſelves with the Duke, exhorted him to perſiſt in his deſign. And theſe men adviſed him to endeavour firſt to gain over ſuch of the provinces as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their loyalty; ſaying, that *their* example would ſoon be followed by the other provinces, who would dread incurring the imputation of diſaffection.

But moſt of the counſellors were of a contrary opinion, and particularly the preſident

[f] Meteren, p. 89.

Viglius;

Viglius; a miniſter of long experience in the Netherlands, and of undoubted fidelity to the King. "The objections," ſaid he, "which had been urged againſt the taxes were unanſwerable; for there was the wideſt difference between the kingdom of Spain and the Low Country provinces. The wealth of Spain conſiſted in the great extent of its territory and the fertility of its ſoil. It was divided from other kingdoms, either by inacceſſible mountains, or by the ocean. It was complete within itſelf, and independent of any connexion with other countries. Whereas the Netherlands were of ſuch ſmall extent, as to be utterly inſufficient to ſupport the inhabitants. They were ſituated in the heart of Europe, and had ſo many different nations bordering upon them, that, if trade were diſcouraged or oppreſſed, the manufacturers and merchants could eaſily, and would certainly, tranſplant themſelves, together with their arts, to the countries which lay around them. This conſequence was to be dreaded from much leſs burdenſome impoſitions than thoſe that were propoſed; which were ſuch as had never taken place in any commercial ſtate, and to which, he was confident, the people of the Low Countries would never be perſuaded to ſubmit. I ſpeak thus (continued he) prompted by a concern for the intereſt of the

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King, as well as by a regard to the proſperity of the Netherlands; for there is the greateſt reaſon to apprehend, that if the Governor ſhall not depart from his reſolution, trade will ſoon be reduced ſo low, that the people will be diſabled from furniſhing the ſupplies requiſite for the purpoſes of government[g]."

THIS ſpeech of Viglius ſerved rather to incenſe the Duke of Alva than to convince him. Without regarding either the dignity of the ſpeaker, or the ſtrength of his arguments, he vouchſafed to make no other anſwer, but that, long before this time, he had reſolved upon the taxes in diſpute, and had communicated his reſolution to the Counts Barlaimont and Noircarmes, before he came into the Low Countries. His purpoſe was unalterably fixed, and thoſe who were friends to the King muſt, without any further altercation, exert their endeavours to bring the States to a compliance with his will.

WHEN the States found that the Governor was equally deaf to the remonſtrances of the preſident, as he had been to theirs, they began to dread the effects of his diſpleaſure; and in order to ſooth his reſentment, they gave their

[g] Meurſii Albanus, p. 35. Bentivoglio, p. 83.

conſent to the tax of the hundredth penny; intreating him, at the ſame time, to paſs from the other taxes, and repreſenting again, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the ruinous conſequences which would attend them. But he was ſtill as inexorable as ever; although he condeſcended on this occaſion to make a trial of ſome ſofter expedients, before he ſhould have recourſe to thoſe of a more violent nature, which, in caſe of neceſſity, he was determined to employ. 1569.

1570. Act of indemnity.

In the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, Philip, with the advice of the inquiſitors at Madrid, had pronounced a general ſentence againſt his ſubjects in the Netherlands, finding them obnoxious to juſtice, and depriving them of their fortunes, rights, and privileges. By this extraordinary ſentence, which, from the nature of it, was incapable of being executed, he had kept this unhappy people in perpetual anxiety; but at laſt, believing their ſpirits to be thoroughly ſubdued, and dreading the utter deſolation of the provinces, he had reſolved to publiſh a general indemnity; and ſome months before the preſent period, had tranſmitted it to the Duke of Alva, together with a confirmation of it by the Pope. The Duke thought that he could not publiſh this indemnity at a more ſeaſonable juncture; and he flattered himſelf that it

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it would ſerve to conciliate the favour of the people, and make it eaſier for him to overcome their averſion to the taxes. It was firſt made public in the city of Antwerp; where the Governor, ſeated on a lofty throne, ſurrounded with a degree of pomp which no former Governor had aſſumed, ordered it to be read in the preſence of a prodigious concourſe of people, who had come from all quarters to hear it, full of the moſt anxious expectation. It was afterwards printed and diſperſed over all the provinces. But it was extremely ill-calculated to promote the purpoſe deſigned; and was clogged with ſuch a number of exceptions, as tended rather to awaken the fears of the people, than to allay or remove them.

From the benefit of it were excluded, not only all the preachers of the reformed religion, but likewiſe all thoſe who had ever lodged or entertained them in their houſes; all who had been concerned in breaking the images, or in violating the monaſteries and churches; all who had ſubſcribed the compromiſe, the petition of the nobles, or any other ſuch bond of aſſociation; and, laſtly, all thoſe who had given aſſiſtance, or ſhewn favour, by word, deed, or writing, to the enemies of the King. Such were the exceptions that regarded individuals; and with reſpect to cities and communities, it was

was declared, that if any of them ſhould be found to have been acceſſory to the late diſorders, on the pretence of maintaining their privileges, the King reſerved to himſelf the power of puniſhing or forgiving them, as he ſhould judge expedient.

How received.

It is not ſurpriſing that an act of indemnity ſuch as this, ſhould have failed to produce any ſalutary effect. Perſons of all ranks were highly offended with that open declaration which it contained, that they had forfeited their privileges. There were many who, although they themſelves had ever been zealouſly attached to the Catholic religion, were connected by the moſt endearing ties with thoſe who had forſaken it. Prompted by natural affection, gratitude, or humanity, they had done offices of kindneſs to their friends and neighbours, for which they were now made equally liable to puniſhment, as if they had been guilty of the moſt enormous crimes. Their minds therefore were thrown into a greater ferment than ever; and they were diſpoſed to regard the pardon which had been proclaimed, rather as an inſult added to the injuries which they had received, than as an act of clemency and mercy[h].

[h] Meteren, p. 84. Bentivoglio, p. 85.

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THE Duke of Alva conſidered it in a light extremely different, and ſoon afterwards reſolved to make trial, whether it had produced the deſired effect. With this view he ordered the ſeveral Governors to inform the States of their reſpective provinces, that the ſituation of his affairs required an immediate and large ſupply, and that they muſt proceed to the raiſing of the tax of the tenth penny, without any further remonſtrance or delay. With the different provinces, however, he thought proper to employ very different means of perſuaſion. As the inhabitants of Namur, Artois, and Hainault, had, from the beginning, been extremely ſubmiſſive to his will, he deſired the Counts Barlaimont and Noircarmes, to acquaint them, that he wiſhed to obtain their conſent to the tax, more for an example of obedience to the other provinces, than from any intention to levy it upon *them;* who had deſerved ſo well of him by their fidelity. But he delivered his orders in a much more peremptory tone to the other provinces. He would take care, he ſaid, in levying the tax, to prevent the conſequences which they apprehended might ariſe from it; and would aboliſh it, if he found it hurtful to their trade. In the mean time it was the will of the King that it ſhould be impoſed. The King had inveſted him with power to exact it; and he was unalterably

alterably determined to employ that power for the purpoſe for which it had been conferred. He concluded with reminding them of the guilt which they contracted during the late commotions; and bid them eſteem it a happineſs that they were now allowed to atone for their folly, by giving a *part* of their ſubſtance, when the King might in juſtice have ſeized the *whole*. 1570.

The general States intimidated.

By theſe promiſes and threats an aſſent was at laſt extorted; but it was given upon two conditions, that all the provinces, without exception, ſhould agree to the taxes; and that the Governor ſhould, according to his promiſe, moderate them in ſuch a manner, that no prejudice could ariſe from them to the trade or manufactures of the Netherlands. The only provinces which rejected theſe conditions were thoſe of Utrecht and Brabant. And the former of theſe diſcovered, in the progreſs of this affair, a firmneſs and intrepidity that deſerves to be recorded.

The reſolute conduct of the States of Utrecht.

Soon after the Governor's orders were communicated to the States of Utrecht, they ſent ambaſſadors to repreſent, that having taken his demand under their moſt ſerious conſideration, they were unable to conceive how it could poſſibly be granted. The territory of Utrecht, they ſaid, was ſmall; the inland parts of

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of it were barren, and the other parts were preſerved from the fury of the waters at an immenſe expence. Although they had but lately become ſubject to the houſe of Auſtria, yet, in order to raiſe the tributes impoſed upon them by the late Emperor and the preſent King, they had been obliged to contract a very large debt, which they had never been able to repay. During the late diſturbances, they had ſuffered more than the other provinces; their city had been forſaken by its moſt induſtrious inhabitants, and their trade, which was never great, almoſt annihilated. But as they knew the neceſſity of the Governor's affairs, and were ſenſible how much they had been indebted to him for reſtoring tranquillity to the Netherlands, they were willing to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt extent of their ability, and would engage to pay him yearly a hundred thouſand florins for ſix years; provided they were freed from all other burdens during that time.

This offer the Governor rejected with ſcorn and indignation. The States then ſent another embaſſy to inform him, that they had conſidered fully of what they could afford; they had flattered themſelves that their offer would have met with a favourable acceptance; they were conſcious of having given the ſtrongeſt proof of an inclination to comply with his deſire; but, whatever

whatever ſhould be the conſequence, they muſt now declare, that it was beyond their power to offer more. And in this declaration, the Preſidents of the five churches concurred; proteſting, that they could not agree to the taxes propoſed, without incurring the cenſure of excommunication, which was denounced in the Pope's bull[1], *in cœna Domini*, not only againſt thoſe who impoſed taxes on the revenues of the church, but againſt thoſe likewiſe who ſubmitted to them. But the Governor paid no greater regard to this proteſtation of the eccleſiaſtics, than to the remonſtrances of the States. It provoked him exceedingly, to meet with ſuch obſtinate reſiſtance from ſo inconſiderable a province as Utrecht. He had threatened to employ force, and he now reſolved to put his threat in execution.

He began with ſending to the city of Utrecht a regiment of infantry, conſiſting of two thouſand four hundred men; who, beſides exacting the ſame number of florins a week for their pay, lived at free quarters in the houſes of the inhabitants, and, knowing the Governor's deſign in placing them there, indulged themſelves in every ſpecies of outrage. He ſummoned the magiſtrates of the city, and the States of the province, to appear before the Council of Tu-

[1] Publiſhed by Pius V. anno 1568.

mults,

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mults, to anſwer for their conduct in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty-ſix, when they ceded to the Proteſtants one of the churches of the city for their religious aſſemblies. It did not avail them to allege in their defence, that only a few individuals were concerned in this deed; that theſe few had acted with the beſt intention towards the King and the Catholic religion, and had made that conceſſion, of which the whole city was now accuſed, in order to prevent the moſt unhappy conſequences, which would otherwiſe have ariſen from the intemperate zeal of the reformers. Theſe defences made no impreſſion on the Duke, or on the council. And ſentence was paſſed with very little heſitation, at the ſame time, againſt the eccleſiaſtics, the nobles, and the ſeveral cities of the province. The eccleſiaſtics were deprived of their right of voting in the aſſembly of the States; the nobles were ſtript of all their honours and immunities; the cities of Utrecht, Amersfort, Wyck, and Rhenen, were declared to have forfeited their privileges; and, as Utrecht was ſuppoſed to have been more particularly guilty, it was enacted, that all the territory and revenues belonging to the city and corporations ſhould be confiſcated.

THE States were ſo far intimidated by this iniquitous ſentence, and their patience ſo much exhauſted

exhauſted by the oppreſſive rapacity of the ſoldiers, that they were induced to raiſe the offer which they had made of one hundred thouſand florins to one hundred and eighty thouſand. But neither what they had already ſuffered, nor what they dreaded from the Governor's reſentment, could induce them to yield their conſent to the taxes of the tenth and twentieth penny. BOOK X. 1570.

THIS reſolute conduct of the people of Utrecht was attended with the moſt important conſequences. It annulled the obligation under which the other States had come, when they conſented to the taxes, on condition that all the provinces ſhould concur; and it confirmed the people in their reſolution ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe the levying of the taxes.

THE Governor was aware how difficult it would have been, in their preſent temper, to carry his plan into immediate execution; and although it does not appear that he ever entertained the remoteſt thoughts of dropping it, yet, as his occaſions for money were extremely preſſing, he called an aſſembly of the States to Bruſſels, and demanded, that, beſides the hundredth penny, to which they had formerly conſented[k], they ſhould, in place of the other

[k] This amounted to 4,000,000 guilders.

taxes,

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taxes, pay two millions of guilders yearly, for ſix years. The States endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the exorbitancy of his demand, but in vain. He gave them a month to conſider of it, and at laſt, from their dread of his tyranny, they agreed to his requeſt.

Conduct of the Prince of Orange.

THE Prince of Orange was not an unconcerned ſpectator of theſe tranſactions. He had gone, as was mentioned before, at the end of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight, to join the Proteſtants in France. He was preſent, and had a conſiderable ſhare in the ſeveral actions which paſſed between the Calviniſts and Catholics, at La Charité, Roch-la-ville, and Poictiers. But being too deeply intereſted in the affairs of the Netherlands, to remain long at ſo great a diſtance from them, he had left his brother Count Lewis to command the German forces in France; and having returned in September one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-nine, to his county of Naſſau in Germany, he had been employed for ſome time in making preparations for trying his fortune once more againſt the Spaniards.

IN Germany he received particular intelligence of every thing that had happened in the Low Countries ſince his departure. He was informed how much the Duke of Alva had increaſed

creaſed the hatred which the people entertained againſt his perſon and government. He received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their diſpoſition to revolt; and was ſolicited by the Catholics, as well as the Proteſtants, by thoſe who ſtill remained in the country, as well as thoſe who had been forced to leave it, to take up arms in their defence. But he had not forgotten the cauſe of the failure of his firſt attempt; and he reſolved not to begin any military operations, nor even to levy forces, till he ſhould be better provided than formerly with the means of their ſupport.

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The exiles at ſea acknowledge his authority.

Soon after Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, many of thoſe who had left the country on account of the perſecutions, had united together, and fitted out a great number of armed veſſels, with which they ſeized all the Spaniſh ſhips which they could meet with on the Flemiſh or Engliſh coaſt. Theſe adventurers had lately, through the violence of Alva's adminiſtration, received a great increaſe of number; and had been joined by many perſons of rank, who had acquired an aſcendant over them. They were all ſtrongly attached to the Prince of Orange, from whoſe wiſdom alone they had any hopes of being reſtored to their native country; and they deſired nothing ſo much as that he would undertake the direction of their affairs. They

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agreed, therefore, as ſoon as it was propoſed by their leaders, to receive commiſſions from him, and to pay a fifth part of the value of all their prizes to certain officers, to be appointed by him to receive it.

As their fleet was greatly ſuperior to any which the Duke of Alva poſſeſſed, they did incredible miſchief to the Spaniſh, and ſometimes too to the Flemiſh merchants; and if their prizes had been ſold to advantage, the proportion which they allowed to the Prince of Orange would have amounted to a conſiderable ſum.

Intrigues of the Prince of Orange.

WILLIAM had recourſe, at the ſame time, to another method of improving his finances. He empowered ſome of the inferior nobility to grant commiſſions, in his name, to the Proteſtant preachers, who went throughout the provinces in diſguiſe, and procured contributions from all thoſe who were diſaffected either to the Catholic religion or the Spaniſh government. Theſe men not only knew better to whom it was proper to apply, but by their piety and eloquence, they had greater influence over the people, than any other perſons whom the Prince could have employed. By their means, too, he acquired a thorough knowledge of the diſpoſition of the people, and formed a correſpondence with many

many of the principal inhabitants, which contributed not a little to advance his views. These tranſactions were carried on chiefly in Holland and Zealand, where the reformed religion had made greater progreſs than in the ſouthern provinces; and where, from the nature and ſituation of the country, interſected by navigable rivers, canals, and branches of the ſea, the people dreaded leſs, and were in reality leſs expoſed to, the power of the Spaniards. It was in theſe provinces, formed both by nature and art to be the ſeat of liberty, that the Prince of Orange had wiſely reſolved to make his firſt attempt to gain a footing in the Netherlands. And, accordingly, intrigues were formed, and plans concerted, between his agents and ſome of the principal inhabitants, for delivering the maritime towns into the hands of the Proteſtant exiles. Attempts were made to get poſſeſſion of Enchuyſen, and other cities in North Holland; but, from different cauſes, they proved abortive at this time, and were laid aſide till fortune ſhould be more propitious. The perſons concerned in them had little reaſon, it may be thought, to flatter themſelves with the hopes of ſecrecy; yet ſo univerſally odious was the Spaniſh government become to the Catholics as well as the Reformers, that none, even of thoſe by whoſe means the plots of the Orange party were

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defeated, could reſolve to give information of them to the Governor. They were averſe from gratifying a man whom they had ſo much reaſon to deteſt; and abhorred the thoughts of that cruelty, which they knew would, in caſe of a diſcovery, be exerciſed againſt the guilty.

Surpriſe of the fort of Louveſtein.

THE Duke of Alva, therefore, remained entirely ignorant of all that paſſed; nor does it appear that he entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of the machinations of his enemies, till the taking of the fort of Louveſtein. This fort ſtands in the iſland called Bommel, which is formed by the Maeſe and Waal; and, though weakly fortified, was of great importance on account of its ſituation. It was taken by ſurprize at this time, by Herman de Ryter, a native of Bois-le-Duc, who wiſhed to ſignalize himſelf by ſome gallant exploit in the ſervice of the Prince of Orange. He had carried with him no more than fifty men, and with this ſmall number he hoped to be able to defend the fort till his aſſociates ſhould arrive, but unfortunately they were prevented from advancing by ſome unforeſeen accident; and in the mean time the fort was inveſted by a ſuperior force, which had been ſent from Bois-le-Duc, by Roderigo de Toledo. The beſieged defended themſelves long with the moſt obſtinate valour; but they were at laſt over-

overpowered by numbers, and De Ryter himſelf was ſlain [1]. BOOK X.

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THE Duke of Alva was greatly alarmed by this event. He conſidered the cauſe more than the effect, and apprehended that this firſt enterprize of his enemies, which had been ſo eaſily fruſtrated, would ere long be followed by other attempts in different parts of the provinces. It excited in his fiery temper a degree of rage and indignation equal to his anxiety. And his reſentment was inflamed by the oppoſition which the people had made to his raiſing the tax of the hundredth penny; eſpecially in the maritime provinces, where he had never been able either to levy that tax, or their proportion of the two millions of guilders, which the General States had conſented to pay him yearly. This oppoſition might have opened his eyes, and ſhewn him the neceſſity of embracing milder expedients than he had hitherto employed; but, inſtead of this, it ſerved only to fix him in his firſt purpoſe of having recourſe to open force and violence. And he was reſolved, whatever ſhould be the conſequences, to compel the people to ſubmit, not only to the tax of the hundredth penny, to which the States had given their conſent, but likewiſe to that of Indignation of the Duke of Alva.

[1] Meteren, p. 86. Bentivoglio, p. 87.

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the tenth and twentieth, to which they had refuſed it[m]. To give a colour to his conduct, he aſſerted in the council, that the States had conſented to the two latter taxes as well as the former. Viglius, and ſome others of the counſellors, reminded him, that the conſent obtained had been granted upon a condition which did not yet ſubſiſt. But Alva was not in a temper of mind, at this time, in which he could either liſten to the truth, or bear with contradiction. They were no better than rebels, he ſaid, who durſt affirm, that the States had not conſented. The King's honour, as well as his intereſt, required, that the taxes ſhould be levied without delay; and he would ſuffer himſelf to be cut in pieces rather than allow the States to break the promiſe which they had given him.

His edict requiring payment of the taxes.

He accordingly iſſued an edict, requiring all the inhabitants of the Low Countries to make immediate payment of the tenth and twentieth, as well as of the hundredth penny, to the officers appointed to receive them. But as he had promiſed to moderate the two former taxes in ſuch a manner as to prevent the pernicious conſequences that were apprehended, an immunity from the tenth penny was granted to foreign merchants, on the firſt ſale of goods imported; and they were

[m] Bentivoglio, p. 87.

permitted

permitted to export them again, without paying this tax, provided the goods had not been transferred from one perſon to another during their continuance in the country. The ſame immunity was likewiſe granted on the firſt ſale of cattle, corn, and fruits, the produce of the Netherlands.

THESE immunities, which the Governor conſidered as proofs on his part of the greateſt condeſcenſion, had no effect towards reconciling the people to the taxes, which they believed would, notwithſtanding theſe conceſſions, be attended with the ruin of their commerce and manufactures. Their averſion to them, and their reſolution to oppoſe the levying of them, were as ſtrong as ever. In many towns the people began, almoſt as ſoon as the edict was publiſhed, to feel a ſcarcity of the common neceſſaries of life. Proviſions were not brought to market, nor did the merchants expoſe their goods to ſale as formerly [n]. Theſe inconveniences were felt in no place more than in Bruſſels, where the Governor reſided. There was an entire ſtagnation in that city of every ſpecies of commercial intercourſe. Neither food nor drink could be purchaſed in it The ſhops and

The conſequences of this meaſure.

[n] Bentivoglio, p. 87.

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workhouſes were ſhut up. The lower ſort of people were reduced to deſpair; and the whole city was overwhelmed with grief and conſternation.

His barbarity.

In this ſituation, Alva formed the barbarous reſolution of putting to death, before their own houſes, ſeventeen of the principal inhabitants. His ſoldiers were under arms; the gibbets, the ropes, and the executioners, were prepared; when happily, only a few hours before the time fixed for the execution, a meſſenger arrived with information that the exiles had made a deſcent on the iſland of Vorn, and got poſſeſſion of the Brille.

The Brille taken by the exiles.

Alva, thunderſtruck with this intelligence, recalled his bloody orders; and reſolved, though with much reluctance, to ſuſpend for a time the levying of the taxes. He was deeply ſenſible of the advantages which the exiles might derive from their acquiſition of a place, which, on account of its ſituation at the mouth of a great river, and in the neighbourhood of many important cities, had always been conſidered as one of the chief keys of the Netherlands. He knew likewiſe how extremely diſaffected the people in the maritime provinces were to his perſon and government; and he dreaded that other places would follow the example

example of the Brille, and open their gates to the enemy. BOOK X. 1572.

He had the greater reaſon to be uneaſy at this event, as he had not exerted himſelf with proper vigour to prevent it. He had neglected to form a naval force ſufficient to contend with the exiles; and had thereby not only ſuffered the trade of the Netherlands to be ruined, but had left his government almoſt defenceleſs on that ſide, where, from the nature of the power which the Proteſtant exiles poſſeſſed, it was in the greateſt danger of being attacked. He had not even put garriſons into the cities that were moſt expoſed; but, at the very time when the exiles were hovering on the coaſt, kept a numerous body of troops quartered in Utrecht; which, if they had been diſtributed among the ſea-coaſt towns, might have baffled all the attempts of the enemy. Of this ſupine negligence, in a perſon of ſo great vigour and abilities as Alva, no account can be given, but the extreme contempt in which he held the Proteſtant exiles; whom he conſidered as fit only to exerciſe piracy upon merchant ſhips, but utterly incapable of conducting any important enterpriſe.

But although he had not taken the neceſſary precaution to ſecure himſelf againſt their attempts,

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atempts, he had not been altogether inattentive to their motions. He had complained to the Queen of England, of her permitting them to ſell openly, in her dominions, the goods of which they had robbed the ſubjects of the King his maſter. This was in effect giving aſſiſtance, he ſaid, to the King's rebellious ſubjects, and was a violation of the treaties which ſubſiſted between the Spaniſh and Engliſh crowns. Elizabeth was ſecretly a friend to the Flemiſh exiles; and ſhe had little reaſon, and as little inclination, to gratify the deſires of Philip, or the Duke of Alva. She knew that, for ſome time paſt, they had maintained a correſpondence with her Catholic ſubjects, and had uſed their endeavours to diſturb her government. But ſhe did not judge it proper at this time to come to an open rupture with Philip. She therefore complied with Alva's requeſt; ordered all ſhips belonging to ſuch of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, as had withdrawn their allegiance from the King of Spain, to leave her harbours; and forbade her ſubjects to furniſh them with ſhelter or proviſions.

THIS unlooked-for compliance of Elizabeth, which was matter of great triumph to the Duke of Alva, and of equal mortification to the exiles, was attended, in the iſſue, with conſequences very different from thoſe which were

expected. It reduced the exiles to deſpair; and as they were now thrown off by the only foreign power from which they had received protection, they reſolved, if poſſible, to acquire poſſeſſion of ſome place of ſtrength in their native country. Having with this view aſſembled at Dover, they ſet ſail with twenty-five ſhips, under William de Lumey Count de la Marck, who held the chief command among them, by commiſſion from the Prince of Orange. In their voyage they had the good fortune to meet with two Spaniſh veſſels richly laden, which was no ſmall conſolation to them in their preſent forlorn ſituation. They intended to have made an attempt upon Enchuyſen, in North Holland; but the wind being contrary, they were obliged to put into the Maeſe, where they caſt anchor before the town of Brille, on the firſt of April one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-two. The Count de la Marck immediately landed his troops, and ſent a meſſenger to ſummon the inhabitants, in the name of the Prince of Orange, to ſurrender. But as they heſitated for ſome time what anſwer they ſhould return, he began to ſuſpect that they were preparing to make reſiſtance, and therefore ordered the gates on the north ſide to be burnt down. This was done accordingly; and he entered, and took poſſeſſion of the town without

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BOOK X. out oppoſition, at the head of only two hundred and fifty men.

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So accidental and ſo eaſily accompliſhed was the firſt event of that war, which rendered the Netherlands a ſcene of horror and devaſtation for more than thirty years; but which, whilſt it proved the ſource, on many occaſions, of extreme diſtreſs to the people, called forth an exertion of virtue, ſpirit, and intrepidity, which ſeldom occurs in the annals of hiſtory. Never was there a more unequal conteſt than this which was now begun between the inhabitants of the Low Countries and the Spaniſh monarch; and never was the iſſue of any diſpute more contrary to what the parties had reaſon to expect. On the one ſide, a people, conſiſting chiefly of manufacturers and merchants, inhabiting a country of ſmall extent, and already much exhauſted by a long continued exerciſe of tyranny and oppreſſion: on the other the richeſt monarch of the age, who was maſter of the moſt numerous and beſt diſciplined forces, commanded by Generals diſtinguiſhed above their cotemporaries by their conſumate ſkill in the art of war. Nothing but deſpair could have made the people of the Low Countries enter the liſts with an adverſary ſo much ſuperior to them. And it could hardly be ſuppoſed that

that they would not be quickly overwhelmed. But from the ſequel it will appear, how raſh it is to conclude with confidence, that becauſe an event is improbable, therefore it will not happen. 1572.

ON the next day, after the Proteſtants had made themſelves maſters of the Brille, they began to convey their booty on board their ſhips, with the deſign of proceeding on their voyage to Weſt Frieſland; but one of their number, a native of the place [o], having repreſented that they could not reaſonably expect to find a more commodious ſettlement elſewhere, the Count de la Marck, and all the reſt, entered readily into his opinion; and they reſolved without delay to fortify the town with the cannon belonging to the fleet.

THEY had juſt time to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, when the Count de Boſſut [p], to whom the Duke of Alva had given orders to attack them, arrived in the iſland with a body of Spaniſh troops, collected from Utrecht and other places in the neighbourhood. The Count de la Marck, whoſe forces were much inferior in number to the enemy, remained within the town, with a reſolution to defend it to the laſt. Fruitleſs attempt to recover the Brille.

[o] Treſlong. [p] Governor of Holland.

The

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The Spaniards advanced to the walls, and began to batter them with their artillery; when one of the townſmen leaped into a canal, and ſwimming a little way till he came to a ſluice, which Boſſut had neglected to ſecure, he broke it down, and let in ſuch a quantity of water, that, in a few hours, a great part of the country was overflowed. This did not deter Boſſut from the proſecution of his enterpriſe; although it obliged him to remove his forces to the ſouth ſide of the town, where the ground which led to the principal gate was ſtill uncovered by the water. La Marck had planted there his heavieſt cannon; and the Spaniards had little proſpect of being able to carry their point ſoon. In the mean time, two of the boldeſt leaders of the exiles ſallied out with a part of the ſoldiers from the oppoſite gate, and marching along the dykes to the place where Boſſut had left his ſhips, they burnt ſome of them, ſunk others, ſet the reſt adrift, and then returned ſafe to the city. When the Spaniards were advertiſed of this diſaſter, and perceived the water round them riſing higher and higher, they were ſtruck with a ſudden panic, and betook themſelves with the utmoſt precipitation to the ſhore. Moſt of them made their eſcape to the oppoſite coaſt in ſome veſſels, which the enemy had not either time to let looſe or deſtroy; and others by ſwimming, till they

they reached the ſhips that had been ſet adrift; while a conſiderable number was ſwallowed up in the mud and water. Had they been purſued by the enemy, they muſt all have periſhed. But La Marck, who was doubtful of the affections of the citizens, thought it dangerous to quit the town, leſt they ſhould ſhut the gates, and turn his own artillery againſt him. BOOK X. 1572.

FROM this ſucceſs, the Proteſtants derived an increaſe both of ſtrength and courage. The citizens declared openly in their favour, and they were immediately joined by numbers who flocked to them from all parts of the iſland. The names of the inhabitants were regiſtered; and they all ſwore allegiance to the Prince of Orange, as the only legal governor of Holland; engaging to defend the town and iſland in *his* name, and that of the King, againſt the Duke of Alva and the Spaniards [q].

THEIR

[q] This firſt victory of the Proteſtants was ſullied by that ſavage ferocity, of which there are many inſtances in the preſent war. The Monks, knowing how obnoxious they were to the conquerors, endeavoured to make their eſcape from the iſland; but they were ſeized in their flight, treated in the moſt cruel and contumelious manner, and afterwards put to death. The exiles were too much inflamed by the barbarous treatment which they themſelves had received, to diſtinguiſh between the innocent and the guilty, or to liſten either to the dictates of humanity, or that of religion, for which they profeſſed ſuch ardent zeal. Having been treated as

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THEIR example quickly diffuſed the ſpirit by which they were actuated, and ſerved as a ſignal of revolt to other places. Of this the Count de Boſſut ſoon received a convincing proof. Having with great difficulty paſſed over from Vorn to Beyerland, he led his troops towards Dort, where he intended to refreſh them after the fatigue which they had undergone. But the inhabitants having heard of his repulſe at Brille, and dreading that he might compel them to pay taxes, they reſolved, whatever ſhould be the conſequences, to refuſe him admittance into the city. As he was not in a condition to employ force, he marched directly to Rotterdam.

Boſſut's maſſacre of the people of Rotterdam.

THERE too he found the people equally averſe to the admiſſion of the Spaniards; but after aſſuring the magiſtrates that he meant only to lead them through the town, and not to lodge them in it, he perſuaded them to ſuffer the ſeveral companies to paſs through it, one by one. The magiſtrates had reaſon quickly to repent of this conceſſion. No ſooner had the firſt company entered the city, than Boſſut, without regard to his engagement, ordered them to keep the gates open, till the other companies

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as wild beaſts by their enemies, they had now become ſuch, and tore in pieces every thing that fell in their way.

ſhould

ſhould arrive. The citizens reproached him with his treachery, and attempted to ſhut the gates by force. He had hitherto been held in eſteem for his moderation; but being chagrined, on this occaſion, by the miſcarriage of his attempt againſt the Proteſtants at Brille, and incenſed by the affront which had been offered him, firſt by the people of Dort, and ſince by thoſe of Rotterdam, he reſolved to wreak his vengeance upon the latter, and ſhewed his ſoldiers what he wiſhed them to do, by killing with his own hand one of the citizens, who was endeavouring to ſhut the gate. His troops, eager to follow his example, drew their ſwords, attacked the city-guards, ſlew ſome of them, and drove the reſt out of the city; then giving a looſe to their fury, they ſpread themſelves over the town, and butchered more than three hundred of the inhabitants [r].

This ſhocking deed was no leſs impolitic, than it was ſavage and barbarous; and added fuel to that flame which Boſſut, as governor of the province, ought to have been at the utmoſt pains to extinguiſh. It required but little diſcernment to perceive the neceſſity of employing the mildeſt expedients with the maritime provinces. There were no citadels

[r] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 75. Bentivoglio, p. 91.

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er Spaniſh garriſons in the towns of theſe provinces. The ſoldiers who had been quartered in them, had been drawn off at different times, for the puniſhment of the people of Utrecht. The ſituation of moſt of the towns, ſurrounded by the ſea, or by the rivers and canals, rendered it extremely difficult to beſiege them; and the Proteſtants, who could have eaſy acceſs by water to every part of the country, were greatly ſuperior to the Spaniards in naval force. The people were not ignorant of theſe advantages; and they reſolved to avail themſelves of them on the preſent occaſion. The maſſacre at Rotterdam made them regard Boſſut and the Spaniards with horror; and even thoſe who wiſhed to maintain their allegiance to the King of Spain, were determined to guard againſt the entrance of his troops within their walls, with the ſame vigilance which they would have employed againſt an open foe.

Revolt of Fluſhing.

THIS ſpirit appeared firſt at Fluſhing; which, on account of its ſituation near the mouth of the Scheld, has long been reckoned one of the moſt important towns in the Netherlands. Among the laſt inſtructions which the Emperor delivered to his ſon, when he reſigned his dominions, he adviſed him to make this place an object of his particular

care,

care, and to ſpare no expence to ſecure it againſt the attempts of his enemies. Alva had not beſtowed that attention on it, which a place of ſo much conſequence deſerved. He had weakened the garriſon, by ordering all of them but eighty Walloon ſoldiers to take up their quarters in Utrecht. The loſs of the Brille, which was owing to the ſame cauſe, had made him ſenſible of his error. He now therefore reſolved to finiſh a citadel at Fluſhing, of which he had laid the foundation ſome time before; and with this view he ordered eight companies of Spaniards to go there, under the command of an experienced officer. The citizens beheld the chains which were thus forging for them, with deep concern. They dreaded the conſequences which might ariſe to their trade. They were not entirely free from apprehenſions of being treated in the ſame manner as the people of Utrecht and Rotterdam. They doubted not that, ſooner or later, the garriſon, which was ſtationed in the town, would be employed to compel them to make payment of the taxes; and they were emboldened by the ſucceſs of the Proteſtants in the iſle of Vorn. While their minds were in this agitation, there arrived among them ſome partiſans of the Prince of Orange, who had come on purpoſe to exhort them to aſſert their liberty. Inſtigated by theſe men, the

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populace ran to arms, and obliged the feeble remains of the garriſon to quit the city.

On the next day, the Spaniſh forces arrived in the harbour. The people were aſſembled in the ſtreets, and upon the walls; and were ſtill in ſome meaſure unreſolved as to their future conduct. The Proteſtants, and other friends of the Prince of Orange, remonſtrated to them on the abſurdity of heſitating, after they had begun hoſtilities. "By expelling the garriſon," cried one of them, "you have already done what the Spaniards will undoubtedly interpret to be high treaſon againſt the King. Conſider well to whoſe mercy you expoſe yourſelves. Remember the fate of the Counts Horn and Egmont, and conſider whether your merit or your innocence has equalled theirs." The Proteſtants employed another method to impreſs the minds of the vulgar. They cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, that the Spaniſh garriſon was at hand, and that all the citizens muſt hold their effects, their wives and daughters, in readineſs for their uſe [s].

When men are balancing between contrary reſolutions, the ſmalleſt weight is ſuf-

[s] Reidanus, p. 10.

ficient

ficient ſometimes to turn the ſcale. A man in liquor, who had mingled with the crowd, offered for a ſmall reward to fire one of the great guns upon the Spaniards; and he did it accordingly, on receiving three guilders from one of the Proteſtants who ſtood near him. From that inſtant the people were fixed in their purpoſe. The Spaniards, aſtoniſhed at their reception, and utterly unprepared to employ force, let ſlip their cables, and ſailed for Middleburg.

In that city reſided Anthony de Burgoine, Lord of Wackené, the governor of the province; who, as ſoon as he was informed of what had happened, ſet out for Fluſhing, and on his arrival there, having called together all the inhabitants into the moſt public part of the town, he employed every argument addreſſed to their hopes and fears, to perſuade them to return to their allegiance. But they could not liſten now to any thing but the paſſions by which they were inflamed. Their abhorrence of the Spaniſh tyranny was now wrought up to the greateſt height; and the Governor, apprehenſive of danger from their unbridled fury, immediately left the town.

Soon after his departure, they pulled up the foundations of the new citadel, and drove out the perſons to whom the charge of build-

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ing it had been committed. In a few days afterwards they gave a ſtill ſtronger proof of their reſolution never to return under the Spaniſh government. Don Pedro Pacheco, who had been appointed governor of Fluſhing, having been detained ſome days behind the troops, was ignorant of what had paſſed, and entered the harbour under a belief that his ſoldiers were in the town to receive him. The people ran to arms, and having ſeized and plundered his ſhip, they caſt him and his attendants into priſon. Among papers which were found in his poſſeſſion, it is ſaid, that they met with evidence of his having come with a deſign to exerciſe in Fluſhing the wonted tyranny of the Spaniards; and this diſcovery, added to the circumſtance of his being nearly related to the Duke of Alva, prompted them to form the barbarous reſolution of putting him to death. He offered to pay them a rich ranſom for his life, and to remain their priſoner; but they rejected his propoſal. He then begged that they would reſpect the nobility of his birth, and put him to death by the ſword, rather than by the halter. Even this requeſt was denied him. Their minds were grown ſavage, from the bloody ſcenes which had of late been ſo often acted before them; and they rejoiced in the opportunity which they poſſeſſed of wreaking their vengeance on the Duke of Alva, by inflicting

inflicting a diſgraceful puniſhment on his kinſman.

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THEY were aware of the conſequences with which this conduct, ſo violent and hoſtile, muſt be attended; and, as they knew that it would quickly draw upon them the whole weight of the Governor's reſentment, they omitted nothing in their power to ſecure themſelves againſt it. They laboured inceſſantly to ſtrengthen their fortifications. They imported privately from Antwerp ammunition and proviſions, which they laid up in ſtore; and they applied to the Prince of Orange, and to the Proteſtants in France and England, for aſſiſtance. Some troops were immediately ſent them from France, by Count Lewis of Naſſau; and five hundred Flemiſh exiles came from England, who were ſoon afterwards followed by two hundred Scotch and Engliſh volunteers, under the command of two adventurers, Morgan and Balfour. Their fleet received an augmentation where they did not expect it. The Duke of Alva having, ſome months before, fitted out a number of veſſels to cruiſe upon the coaſt, the commanders of theſe veſſels now declared in favour of the party which they had hitherto oppoſed; and, ſetting ſail for Fluſhing, inliſted under the banners of the Count de Tſerart, to whom the Prince of

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Orange had given the chief command of all the forces in the province.

1572. Revolt of other towns in Zealand.

Tserart soon found himself possessed of sufficient strength, not only to defend Flushing, but likewise to attempt the reduction of the other towns in Zealand. With most of these towns, there was very little occasion for employing force. The inhabitants of Campvere, Armuyden, and some other places, were no less inclined to revolt than the people of Flushing; and in a few days the whole province, except Middleburg and the castle of Rammekins, declared against the Spanish government, and received garrisons from Tserart.

In Middleburg too, the greatest part of the inhabitants would gladly have followed the example of the other towns; but they were overawed by the garrison. Tserart laid siege to this city, and expected soon to have got possession of it. The garrison was weak; and as the exiles were masters at sea, he hoped, by their means, to intercept any reinforcement which might be sent from the continent. The Duke of Alva was sensible of the great importance of the place, and resolved, if possible, to relieve it. For this purpose, he ordered Sancio D'Avila, one of his bravest officers, to carry thither a thousand select soldiers,

ſoldiers, partly Walloons and partly Spaniards, whom he mingled together, as he did on many occaſions afterwards, that he might the more effectually excite their emulation; and to theſe a great number of officers and perſons of rank joined as volunteers, that they might partake of the glory of ſo dangerous an enterpriſe.

D'Avila left Bergen-op-zoom in the end of April, and had a proſperous navigation down the Scheld. He was deſirous to land his troops on the neareſt part of the iſland, as from thence he would have had the ſhorteſt march to Middleburg. But the enemy having received intelligence of his deſign, had drawn together a powerful fleet to oppoſe him. He was obliged therefore to keep out to ſea on the north ſide of the iſland, and to fetch a compaſs round, till he came to that part of it which is waſhed by the ocean. The landing there was difficult by reaſon of the flats and ſhallows, which made it neceſſary for him to march a great way in the water; but, as he met with no oppoſition from the enemy, he at laſt brought his men all ſafe on ſhore. Then having immediately ſet out with a choſen band, to examine the ſituation of the enemy, and having found that, truſting to the fleet, they had taken no precaution for their defence, he ordered all his forces to advance.

They

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They ran forward to the attack with the utmoſt impetuoſity. The beſiegers were overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment. The garriſon at the ſame time ſallied out upon them from the city. They abandoned their trenches almoſt without reſiſtance; and being hemmed in on every ſide, all of them, except a few who eſcaped to Fluſhing and Campvere, were put to the ſword [t].

Raiſed by D'Avila.

In this manner was the ſiege of Middleburg raiſed. But as the Proteſtants ſtill retained their ſuperiority at ſea, they hoped, that by ſurrounding the iſland with their ſhips, and intercepting the ſupplies which might be ſent to it, they ſhould ſoon be able to compel the garriſon to ſurrender. Their fleet conſiſted of no leſs than one hundred and fifty armed veſſels, manned with ſailors who were much more expert than any whom the Duke of Alva could procure. Their maritime enterpriſes were for this reaſon almoſt always attended with ſucceſs, and they did incredible miſchief to the Spaniards at ſea; while at land, having only raw troops to oppoſe to regular and well-diſciplined forces, they were ſeldom able to look them in the face.

Succeſs of the exiles at ſea.

At this time, when the ſea was covered with their ſhips, and almoſt every entrance

July 10th.

[t] Bentivoglio, p. 93.

to

to the ports of the Low Countries blocked up, the Duke of Medina-cœli arrived upon the coaſt. This nobleman had been ſent by Philip to ſucceed the Duke of Alva, who, on account of his health, had applied for liberty to return to Spain. Medina-cœli had brought with him fifty ſhips, having two thouſand Spaniſh ſoldiers on board; but as he knew nothing of the late tranſactions in the maritime provinces, and had no ſuſpicion that the Proteſtants poſſeſſed ſuch a conſiderable naval force, he fell unawares into the midſt of their fleet. Twenty-five of the largeſt of his ſhips were taken. Some of them eſcaped to Rammekins and Middleburg, and he himſelf got with difficulty into Sluys, in Flanders. The exiles found on board the ſhips which they took, two hundred thouſand guilders in ſpecie; and the ſhips, with the effects which they contained, were valued at five hundred thouſand [u].

1572.

THEIR next ſucceſs was in an attack upon a fleet of twenty ſhips, which the Duke of Alva intended to ſend to Middleburg, with troops, ordnance, pikes, and gunpowder, for the uſe of the garriſon. The exiles attacked theſe ſhips before they had left the harbour, and having taken them all, they carried them, together with the military ſtores, to Fluſhing.

[u] Meurſii Auriacus, p. 88.

ANOTHER

BOOK X. 1572.

ANOTHER fleet, fitted out for the ſame purpoſe at Sluys, was equally unfortunate. The Zealanders being informed by their partiſans of the deſtination of this fleet, and of the time fixed for its departure, took three ſhips in the ſhort run betwixt Sluys and the Iſle of Walchern, and had the courage to purſue the reſt into the harbour of Rammekins, where, notwithſtanding the fire of the garriſon, they took ſome, and burnt the reſt.

THEY were not ſo ſucceſful in their next adventure. It had been the chief object of their deſire, for ſome time, to make themſelves maſters of Middleburg; becauſe, while that city remained in the hands of the Spaniards, the whole iſland was ſubject to perpetual alarms. They had, as we have juſt now ſeen, defeated ſeveral attempts which the Duke of Alva made to introduce ſupplies, and now the town of Tergoes was the only channel by which they could be conveyed. Tergoes is the capital of South Beveland, and was defended at this time by a garriſon of eight hundred Walloons and Spaniards, under the command of Iſidore Pacheco, a Spaniſh officer.

Siege of Tergoes.

To this town Tſerart, general of the Zealanders, had, ſome time after his repulſe from Middleburg, laid ſiege; but upon a falſe report of the approach of the Spaniards, he had

had haſtily raiſed the ſiege, and left the iſland. He now returned to it, with an army of near eight thouſand men, moſt of whom were German, French, and Engliſh Proteſtants. BOOK X. 1572. Towards the end of Summer.

As the garriſon was no match in the field for ſo great a force, Tſerart had landed in the iſland without oppoſition, and, having immediately inveſted the town, he preſſed forward the ſiege with great vigour. The beſieged made ſeveral briſk ſallies to retard his approach; but notwithſtanding their moſt vigorous efforts, Tſerart had opened his batteries, and made ſome breaches in the wall. The ſiege had laſted for ſeveral weeks, and Pacheco began to perceive that it would not be poſſible for him to hold out much longer.

Of this he had given early notice to the Duke of Alva; nor was the Duke leſs intent upon relieving him, than he had reaſon to expect. The diſtinguiſhed bravery of the garriſon and their commander; the reproach which would accompany the ſuffering them to fall a prey to the enemy; above all, the great importance of the place, the loſs of which would draw after it that of Middleburg, and the whole province of Zealand; theſe conſiderations excited all the Governor's attention, and determined him to apply with

BOOK X. 1572.

ardour to prepare the ſuccour which Pacheco had ſolicited. He ordered ſeveral regiments of his beſt troops to aſſemble from different quarters at Bergen-op-zoom, from whence there is a ſhort run down the Scheld to Beveland. He likewiſe ſent thither a ſufficient number of tranſports with ſtores of ammunition and proviſions; and appointed D'Avila and Mondragone[x] to conduct them to the garriſon of Tergoes.

THESE men exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in the execution of the truſt that was committed to them; and attempted ſeveral times to force their way through the enemy's fleet. But the Zealanders watched their motions ſo attentively, were ſo much more expert in ſailing, and poſſeſſed a naval force ſo much ſuperior to theirs, that all their attempts were baffled; and, to ſave their ſhips from being ſunk, they were frequently obliged to return, without being able to effectuate their purpoſe. D'Avila once flattered himſelf that he had diſcovered an expedient that would prove ſucceſsful. He planted batteries of cannon along the banks of the Scheld; hoping to keep the enemy at a diſtance from the ſhore, and thus to give Mondragone, with the troops,

[x] Two of his moſt experienced officers.

an

an opportunity of paſſing. But the event did not anſwer his expectation. The banks were wet, and did not allow of his coming near enough to annoy the enemy. BOOK X. 1572.

Plumart's propoſal for raiſing the ſiege.

THE Spaniſh General began to deſpair of being able to execute their deſign, when Plumart, a native of the province, but zealouſly attached to the Spaniſh intereſt, propoſed another method of tranſporting the forces, which at firſt appeared impracticable, although it was afterwards embraced. In order to form a clear conception of Plumart's propoſal, it is neceſſary to attend to the ſituation of the country, and the change which ſome years before it had undergone. The Iſle of South Beveland, to which the Spaniſh General found it ſo difficult to tranſport their troops, is only ſeven miles diſtant from a tract of land, to which they could have had eaſy acceſs from Bergen-op-zoom. This tract of land, which is divided from Brabant by the Eaſter Scheld, and from Flanders by the Hondt, or Weſter Scheld, was once a part of Beveland, and was ſeparated from it by a dreadful inundation in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-two; when the ſea broke down the dykes, and burſt violently acroſs the iſland, cutting off from it the corner which lay neareſt to Brabant, and covering it from north to ſouth, that is, from the Eaſter

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Eaſter to the Weſter Scheld, with water, which the inhabitants were never able to exclude. The ſpace overflowed was, at the narroweſt, ſeven Italian miles broad. It could not be croſſed in boats even at high-water, by reaſon of the flats and ſhallows; and at low water it was thought unfordable, on account of the miry bottom, and the channel of ſeveral rivulets, which many perſons ſtill remembered to have ſeen in it, before it was overflowed.

It was there, however, that Plumart thought it practicable for the troops to paſs over on foot, to the relief of the garriſon of Tergoes; and he offered to lead the way, and conduct them in their paſſage. The character of the man, whoſe prudence and fidelity were well known to the commanders, was the only circumſtance that prevented them from regarding his propoſal as chimerical. No perſon had ever attempted to paſs that way before. They themſelves were unacquainted with the face of the country before the inundation. They only knew the length of ſpace over which the troops muſt paſs; and no troops, they believed, would be able to ſupport the fatigue of ſo long a march in water, and perhaps too in mud and clay. Beſides, that, by accidents which could not be foreſeen, they might be retarded in their

their paſſage, till they were overtaken by the rifing tide, and buried in the waves; and, even although this ſhould not happen, yet the enemy might be appriſed of their deſign, and be ready to fall upon them, as ſoon as they ſhould reach the land. BOOK X. 1572.

PLUMART was not diſcouraged by theſe objections. He deſired that no mention might be made of this propoſal, till he ſhould know with certainty whether there was not in reality ſuch a ford as he imagined. He then went to make the trial, accompanied by two Spaniards, and a peaſant who was well acquainted with the face of the country before the inundation. He found the ford which he ſought for; arrived ſafe on the other ſide, and returned, without encountering any greater difficulties than he expected.

D'AVILA and Mondragone did not heſitate after this to comply with his advice. They immediately prepared a number of ſmall bags, which they filled with biſcuit, gunpowder, and matches; and tranſported three thouſand of the beſt troops, Germans, Walloons, and Spaniards, from Bergen-op-zoom to Aggar, a village which lies near the entrance of the ford. Mondragone took upon himſelf the conducting of this extraordinary expedition.

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When the time proper for entering upon it was arrived, he ordered the troops to advance towards the ford; and having diſtributed the bags among them, he then diſcloſed his intention; gave them an account of the diſcovery which had been made by Plumart and his companions; and repreſented the glory which they would acquire by performing, in the ſervice of the church and of the King, ſuch an exploit as had never been atchieved by any army in the world before. The ſoldiers, full of that intrepid ſpirit by which the Spaniſh troops were ſo highly diſtinguiſhed in the preſent war, and proud of being ſelected from their companions for ſo dangerous an enterpriſe, received this unexpected information with every ſymptom of joy, and called out to Mondragone to lead them forward without delay.

That they might have the more time for their paſſage, they began to enter the water when the ſea was going back. The Spaniards, with Plumart and Mondragone at their head, marched firſt, the Germans next, and laſt of all the Walloons. They were ordered to keep as cloſe as poſſible to each other, that they might the more eaſily ſuccour one another, if any of them ſhould fall into deeper water, or be entangled in the mud. They were not without

without apprehenſions of the tide turning upon them, and therefore they moved forward as faſt as the ſurrounding element and the ſlimy bottom would allow. Nine men only periſhed through fatigue, or their neglect of the order which had been given them to keep cloſe to their companions. All the reſt arrived ſafe at the dyke of Yerſichen, a village only four miles diſtant from Tergoes. There Mondragone ordered them to repoſe themſelves during the night, and reſolved to lead them, at break of day, to the relief of the beſieged. 1572.

But he had already done all that was neceſſary for this purpoſe, and had no occaſion to expoſe either himſelf or his men to further danger. When the beſiegers were informed of his arrival, they were filled with conſternation. Under that amazement into which they were thrown by ſo unexpected an event, they regarded the Spaniards as more than men. They did not take time to enquire into their number; but having immediately raiſed the ſiege, they left their baggage and artillery behind them, and betook themſelves precipitately to the ſhore. Eight hundred were killed in their flight by the garriſon, and many more periſhed in the water, in attempting to get on board their ſhips. Mondragone then entered Tergoes; where he was received by the garriſon, with

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with every demonſtration of gratitude for their deliverance; and, having remained there till he had given directions for ſtrengthening the fortifications of the place, he left a part of his troops with the Governor, and returned with the reſt to Brabant, to join the Duke of Alva[y],

[y] Bentivoglio, 110. Meurſii Auriacus, p. 89.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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